# Daily Report
## East Europe

*FBIS-EEU-89-239*

## CONTENTS

*14 December 1989*

**NOTICE TO READERS:** * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

### ALBANIA

Alia Speaks at Trade Unions Council on 11 Dec *[Tirana Radio]* ..... 1
Pact Repudiation of CSSR Invasion Viewed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 7 Dec]* ..... 4
ATA Cites Castro on East European Reform ..... 5

### BULGARIA

CC Plenum Resumes; Dyulgerov Asks To Resign *[BTA]* ..... 6
    Speech by Lukanov *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 7
    Investigation of Zhivkov *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 8
    Leading Role Renounced *[BTA]* ..... 8
    Stanishev on Muslim Issue *[BTA]* ..... 8
    'Rehabilitation' of Kostov *[BTA]* ..... 9
    Z. Zhivkov, Uzunov Speeches *[BTA]* ..... 9
    Mikhaylov Warns Plenum *[BTA]* ..... 9
    Speakers at Plenum *[BTA]* ..... 10
    Zhivkov Expelled From Party *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 10
    Zhivkov Expelled *[BTA]* ..... 11
    Belchev Notes 'Hard Times' *[BTA]* ..... 11
    Gorbachev Talks Noted *[BTA]* ..... 12
Mladenov Closing Speech at Plenum *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 12
    Mladenov Concludes Plenum *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 14
Mladenov Speaks at Public Rally After Plenum *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 14
    Further on Rally *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 15
Mladenov Calls for Unity at Rally *[BTA]* ..... 15
Lilov, Lukanov Speak at News Conference *[BTA]* ..... 16
United Agrarians Rally for Restructuring *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 16
Agrarians on Nikola Petkov Rehabilitation *[BTA]* ..... 17
Legislative Commission Discusses Draft Laws *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 17
Security Chief Admits to 'Social Injustice' *[BTA]* ..... 17
Citizens Polled on Views of New Leadership *[BTA]* ..... 18
Lyudmila Zhivkova Boulevard Renamed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 10 Dec]* ..... 18
Patriotic Students Demonstrate in Veliko Turnovo *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 7 Dec]* ..... 18
Introduction of New Wage System Permitted *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 19
National Assembly Deputy Proposes Private Bill *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 Dec]* ..... 19
Labor Dispute in Emergency Ward Noted *[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 6 Dec]* ..... 19
Workers' Alientation From Property Viewed *[NARODNA ARMIYA 5 Dec]* ..... 19
Mladenov Meets Party Veterans, Partisans *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Dec]* ..... 21
Glasnost Club Leader Zhelev Notes Position *[NARODNA ARMIYA 5 Dec]* ..... 22
Government Decrees Published in State Gazette *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Dec]* ..... 23
Mladenov Congratulates New BZNS Leader *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Dec]* ..... 23
Writers Demand Elections, End to Censorship *[BTA]* ..... 23

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Communist Deputies Support Popular Ballot *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Dec]* ..... 25
Further on Presidential Election Discussions ..... 25
    Agreed by 'End of January' *[Prague Radio]* ..... 25
    Further on Agreement *[Prague Radio]* ..... 25
    CPCZ Spokesman on Talk Results *[Prague Radio]* ..... 26

Daily Calls for 'Respect' for Candidates *[CTK]* .................... 26
Further Reportage on Federal Assembly Session .................... 27
    Deputy Simuth on By-Elections *[Prague Radio]* .................... 27
    Deputy Questions Army Intervention *[Prague Radio]* .................... 27
    Minister Vacek on People's Army Role *[Prague Radio]* .................... 27
    Loebl, Vacek Discuss Army CPCZ Links *[Prague Radio]* .................... 28
    Approves Penal Code Amendments *[CTK]* .................... 28
    Assembly Bills Detailed *[Prague Radio]* .................... 29
    Debates Election Procedure *[Prague Radio]* .................... 30
CPCZ's Valek Interviewed on 'Political Scene' *[CTK]* .................... 30
CPCZ District Conferences Discuss Situation *[CTK]* .................... 30
    CTK Reports Conference Talks .................... 30
CPCZ Primary Groups End Activity in CCTU *[Prague Radio]* .................... 31
Mohorita Says CPCZ Respects Havel's Standing *[Prague Radio]* .................... 31
Husak Asks To Be Released From CPCZ CC *[Prague Radio]* .................... 31
CPCZ CC Presidium Prepares for Congress *[CTK]* .................... 31
CPCZ's Urbanek Speaks to Brno City Committee *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Dec]* .................... 31
Further Reportage on 17 Nov Investigation .................... 34
    Committee Seeks Information *[Prague Radio]* .................... 34
    Commission Issues Report *[CTK]* .................... 34
Havel Speaks at Prague Human Rights Rally *[Prague Radio]* .................... 34
Prague TV Broadcasts Havel Soviet Interview .................... 35
Democratic Forum 'Informal Movement' in CPCZ *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Dec]* .................... 36
    Holds Session *[CTK]* .................... 37
    Issues Appeal *[Prague Radio]* .................... 37
    Favors Direct Elections *[CTK]* .................... 37
    Claims 50,000 Supporters *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec]* .................... 37
Socialist Party Central Committee Meets .................... 38
    Considers Program *[CTK]* .................... 38
    Chairman Hosts News Conference *[Prague TV]* .................... 38
    Chief on Civic Forum Support *[CTK]* .................... 38
Social Democrats Restored as Political Party .................... 38
    Resume Activity *[CTK]* .................... 38
    Prepare Constituent Congress *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Dec]* .................... 39
    Member Interviewed on Program *[Bratislava Radio]* .................... 39
    Support Havel for President *[Prague Radio]* .................... 40
Freedom Party Central Committee Holds Session .................... 40
    Presidium, Secretariat Resigns *[Prague Radio]* .................... 40
    Elects New Chairman *[Prague Radio]* .................... 40
    Further on New Leadership *[Bratislava PRAVDA 9 Dec]* .................... 40
Further Reportage on Bratislava Demonstration *[Bratislava TV]* .................... 40
    'Tens of Thousands' Rally *[Bratislava Radio]* .................... 41

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Fischer, FRG Official Discuss Disarmament *[ADN]* .................... 42
Disarmament Consultations End 9th Round *[ADN]* .................... 42
FRG Republicans Seek Participation in Elections *[ADN]* .................... 42
Commission Reports to Berlin City Councillors *[ADN]* .................... 42
    Further on Meeting *[ADN]* .................... 42
Kohl Agenda Outlined at Briefing *[ADN]* .................... 43
FRG President Discusses Future of 2 Nations *[ADN]* .................... 43
1st Official Talks Held Between SDP Groups *[ADN]* .................... 45
SDP Head Urges Implementing Travel Concessions *[ADN]* .................... 46
Modrow on Economic Tasks Facing Nation *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11 Dec]* .................... 46
Ruehe's Reunification Statements Criticized *[Prokot in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Dec]* .................... 49
CDU Members Call for German Confederation *[NEUE ZEIT 8 Dec]* .................... 49
Jewish Communities on German Question *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Dec]* .................... 49
Ambassador to Hungary Discusses Reunification *[Budapest NEPSZABADSAG]* .................... 50
CSU Plans for United Germany Criticized *[Prokot in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Dec]* .................... 50
Direct Dresden-Hamburg Flights Established *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 1 Dec]* .................... 51

Foreign Minister Receives PLO Official *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Dec]* ..... 51
Isolation of SED Members Denounced *[Blaschke in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12 Dec]* ..... 51
Justice Minister Opposes Defamation of Officials *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9-10 Dec]* ..... 51
SED's Break With Stalinist Structures Noted *[Spickermann in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11 Dec]* ..... 52
Former NDPD Chairman Expelled From Party *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11 Dec]* ..... 52
Berlin Police Chief Rausch Resigns *[ADN]* ..... 52
Leipzig Citizens Group To View Security Films *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Dec]* ..... 52
Brandenburg Prison Conditions Examined *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 9-10 Dec]* ..... 53
News Conference on 'Tense' Situation in Prisons *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9-10 Dec]* ..... 53
Liberal Socialist Founding Committee Formed *[ADN]* ..... 53
LDPD Supports Modrow's Government Coalition *[ADN]* ..... 53
Roundtable Talks Criticized for Lack of Democracy *[Weiss in BERLINER ZEITUNG 9-10 Dec]* ..... 54
Leipzig Citizens Committee Appeals for Calm *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11 Dec]* ..... 54
New Forum Official Views Pace of Reform *[Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY 4 Dec]* ..... 54
New Radio, Television Directors Appointed *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 2-3 Dec]* ..... 56

## HUNGARY

Further Reportage on Nemeth Visit to Britain ..... 57
    Meets Thatcher, Howe *[Budapest TV]* ..... 57
    Comments on Talks With Thatcher *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 57
    Returns to Budapest *[MTI]* ..... 57
Foreign Minister Horn Arrives in Brussels *[MTI]* ..... 57
    Speaks to Group of 24 *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 58
    Meets Baker, IMF's Camdessus *[MTI]* ..... 58
    More on OECD Negotiations *[MTI]* ..... 58
Planning Chief Kemenes Wants IMF Agreement *[Paris LE MONDE 1 Dec]* ..... 59
Paper Carries Interview With SPD's Glotz *[MTI]* ..... 60
MSZMP To Hold Congress at Culture Center *[MTI]* ..... 61
Berecz Calls for Party Reorganization *[MTI]* ..... 61
Grosz Comments on Political Situation *[MTI]* ..... 61
Nemeth Urges Assembly Adoption of Budget *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 61
National Assembly Modifies 18 Dec Agenda *[MTI]* ..... 62
MTI Compares Opposition, Main Parties' Assets ..... 62
Free Democrats Appeal Use of HSP Buildings *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 63
Szuros Meets Social Democratic Party Delegation *[MTI]* ..... 63
New March Front Urges Economic Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 63
Land Office Workers Hold Peaceful Strike *[MTI]* ..... 63
Independent TU Begins in Foreign Ministry *[MTI]* ..... 63
Unions Dissatisfied With Protection of Interests *[MTI]* ..... 63

## POLAND

Martial Law Anniversary Demonstrations, Statements ..... 65
    Szczecin Rally *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 65
    More Unrest *[Warsaw TV]* ..... 65
    AFP Report ..... 65
    Student-Militia Clashes *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 65
    OPZZ Statement *[PAP]* ..... 66
    Gornicki on 1981 Decision *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 66
Jaruzelski, Wujek Agree on 1981 Incident Probe *[PAP]* ..... 66
Council of Ministers Adopts Socioeconomic Rules *[PAP]* ..... 67
Spokeswoman Discusses Current Government, Issues *[PAP]* ..... 67
Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Addresses Sejm *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 8 Dec]* ..... 68
Rakowski Receives Group of U.S. Businessmen *[PAP]* ..... 71
Embassy Official Charges GDR Discrimination *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 71
Italian Republican Party Leader, Group Visit ..... 71
    Received by Mazowiecki *[PAP]* ..... 71
    Meet Jaruzelski *[PAP]* ..... 72
    Hold Talks, Meet Rakowski *[PAP]* ..... 72
Council of Europe's Bjoerck News Conference *[PAP]* ..... 73

Agriculture Minister Returns From Talks With EC *[PAP]* ... 73
Mazowiecki Meets IMF European Branch Official *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 73
Mazowiecki Receives IMF Managing Director *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 74
IMF Officials, WFTU's Nemoudry Pay Visit ... 74
  Meet OPZZ Leaders *[PAP]* ... 74
  Discuss Ventures With Jaruzelski *[PAP]* ... 74
Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Nov-4 Dec *[TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Nov-5 Dec]* ... 74

## YUGOSLAVIA

Further Reportage on 11th Croat LC Congress ... 75
  TANJUG Reports 1st Day ... 75
  Skundric Address *[BORBA 12 Dec]* ... 75
  TANJUG Reports 12 Dec Session ... 76
  Electoral Commission Report *[TANJUG]* ... 76
  Delegates Elected *[TANJUG]* ... 77
  Racan Elected President *[TANJUG]* ... 77
  CC Members Elected *[TANJUG]* ... 77
  Multiparty Elections Approved *[TANJUG]* ... 77
  Delay of LCY Congress Urged *[TANJUG]* ... 78
  Presidium Elected *[TANJUG]* ... 78
  13 Dec Session Report *[TANJUG]* ... 78
  Congress Concludes *[TANJUG]* ... 79
Belgrade Workers To Strike 20 December *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 80
Presidency To Brief Assembly on Situation *[TANJUG]* ... 80
What Slovenes, Serbs Think of Break of Ties *[BORBA 8 Dec]* ... 80
BORBA Opinion Poll on Country's Defense *[30 Oct]* ... 81
Secretary Buncic Speaks on National Defense *[BORBA 21 Nov]* ... 82
People's Army LC Begins 9th Conference 23 Nov *[TANJUG]* ... 83
  Simic Address *[TANJUG]* ... 88
  Army Communists' Program Explained *[TANJUG]* ... 88
  Statutory Act Amended *[TANJUG]* ... 89
  Nationality Structure of Meeting *[TANJUG]* ... 89
  2d Day Report *[TANJUG]* ... 89
JNA Warns Against Underfunding *[TANJUG]* ... 92

## Alia Speaks at Trade Unions Council on 11 Dec

*AU1212202189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Dec 89*

["Excerpts" of speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at meeting of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions in Sofia on 11 December]

[Text] [Begin Alia recording] To begin with, comrades, I would like to bring you greetings from the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee to this important meeting of the General Council of Trade Unions. The trade unions play a considerable role in the country's administration and development, in the construction of socialism, and the defense of the victories attained. They represent a powerful and militant organization. Not only our workers class, but our entire society needs them. The place and role of the trade unions are determined by the position and contribution of the workers class itself, which is also the decisive force of socialist construction in Albania.

The party has appreciated and continues to appreciate the contribution of this militant mass organization as a political, educational, and organizational force to mobilize the energies of the workers class and of broad sections of the intelligentsia in the service of the material and spiritual progress of the country and its prosperity. However, in the same way that the objectives of the construction and defense of socialist society are assuming new quantitative and qualitative dimensions in the development of production and other social activities, the role of the workers class, too, grows, and the same applies to its organization, the trade unions.

The analysis carried out by the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum with regard to the overall trends and the tasks that it defined in the light of domestic developments and the international situation raises the need to increase our demands at all levels of our social superstructure, as well as in all spheres of production, services, and culture. A mobilization of forces is needed everywhere. Creativity, science, and culture are required everywhere.

Our country is experiencing a period of perfecting its economic base and of constant democratization of its social life. We are entering a new stage of development. Everywhere there is a growing demand for productivity, quality, and efficiency. What is of fundamental importance is that we should successfully further promote socialism, that we should invigorate the driving forces in society, and that we should bar all ways that could lead to the deformation of revolutionary principles by consistently applying the line of the masses.

The well-being of the people and the education of the working people make additional demands on our perception of domestic development. However, the accelerated development of the external political situation and the tide of reformism that is shaking up countries in the East make it imperative to strengthen the authority of the workers class, to defend socialist values, to affirm the superiority of the new society, to consolidate the national economy, and particularly to strengthen the independence and integrity of our country. In our case, independence means development. If Albania remained behind developments in Europe in the past, this happened because it lacked independence. [end recording]

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some problems pertaining to contemporary developments in the world. He spoke particularly on the events experienced by the East European countries. Concluding the part of his speech on these developments, Comrade Ramiz said:

Our stand toward these events is well known. Western propaganda is trying to discredit socialism and has been swept by a tide of euphoria. However, every revolutionary and every true patriot sees clearly where the departure from the road of the people leads to, where opportunism and subjugation to the ideological and political pressure of imperialism leads to. At times like this, the pressure against socialism is centered especially on questions like those of democracy, human rights, and so forth. What is being taken as a criterion of the truth in judging these questions? The answer is the bourgeois concept. Our party and our socialist state are active and determined fighters for democratic freedoms and rights. Our perception of these matters is realistic. Freedom and rights are conditioned by a number of objective and subjective factors, such as the level of production, a country's economic potential, traditions, the democratic culture of a people, and so forth. They predominate and are genuine only where national oppression and exploitation of man by man do not exist.

In socialist Albania, democratic freedoms and rights are reflected in the fact that our people have achieved complete national independence and are defending it resolutely. They are reflected in the free and all-round development of the personality of our people, in the right to work and to education, in our social, economic, and material justice, which know no privilege or differentiation for reasons of nationality, sex, location, or social position.

There are people abroad who ask: Will processes like those taking place in East Europe also occur in Albania? We answer firmly and categorically: No, they will not occur in Albania. Why? Primarily, and above all else, because Albania is not the East. Albania and the European East have developed along completely different ideological, political, economic, and social roads. Therefore, the problems are not and cannot be the same. The crisis that is sweeping the countries in the East is the crisis of a definite community, the crisis of what used to be called the socialist community, but not the crisis of socialism as a theory and practice. Consequently, the events taking place over there have nothing to do with us. Socialist Albania and our AWP have always been and are independent and sovereign in all areas. We won our freedom ourselves, with much bloodshed and many sacrifices. The people's power and our socialist road were our own choice and were not imposed on us by anyone. We have never been and have never acted as someone else's appendage. In fact, when others tried to impose their line and their views on us, we opposed them and separated ourselves from them, regardless that they were big, powerful, and wealthy.

Socialism led the Albanian people into the light. No other social order could have done what socialism has done through the people's power. Albania is developing and progressing in all fields. Let us not go too far and mention too many figures, but only a few: Compared with 1960, social production has increased five-fold and per capita income has risen, primarily as a result of employment and of the stability of prices. Thus, a worker in 1960 had to feed 2.3 people other than himself with his wage, while in 1975 his burden was 1.3 people, and in 1988 0.8 people. I am not mentioning here education, culture, and the all-round social emancipation of our people. Are there problems to be resolved? Yes, many—in the fields of economic development, as well as in culture and in the deepening of socialist democracy, in the direction of perfecting production relations and in raising the role of the masses and their operative initiative. However, these problems will be resolved by ourselves, in our way, in the way taught to us by Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with our conditions, experience, and traditions. Recipes of the capitalist type like perestroyka and bourgeois reformism are unacceptable to us. They lead to economic and political dependence on big capital, to a system of oppression and exploitation. The Soviet Union and the countries of the East are hoping to receive help from big capital in order to escape the crisis that has gripped them. The question, however, is: Has capitalism changed and become generous? Not at all. Its exploitive nature is, perhaps, felt less by some sections of the workers in Europe, who may benefit with some crumbs from capital. This does not mean that oppression and exploitation have been mitigated. No one must forget Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where billions of people are being savagely exploited and whose toil and blood provide rich accumulation resources for the U.S. and European bourgeoisie. No one should forget the hundreds of billions of dollars owed to big international capital by various countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and others. Debts are the shackles denying people their freedom; they exploit their efforts; they are a source of further enrichment for the rich.

Capitalism does not give anything without interest. This is obvious from the events in East Europe. Capital is dictating what is to be done, how the economy is to be reformed in order to open the way to private property and foreign capital, how to surrender power to the anticommunist forces, and so forth.

We Albanians are not rich, but we are free and independent. Moreover, we prize our independence, freedom, and sovereignty above all else. We know that there is a lot to be done, because socialist construction, particularly in the current international situation, is accompanied by numerous difficulties and new problems. However, we have confidence in the vitality of our order and in our own forces. Our goals are clear to us and are convinced that everything that we may need, every improvement that we must make, every task confronting us will be met and resolved in a socialist way, without it being necessary to borrow anything from others. This road was confirmed once again by the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum.

Speaking about the tasks determined by the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say:

The implementation of the decisions of the eighth plenum requires that Communists be in the vanguard of society. However, the trade unions, too, must stand shoulder to shoulder with the party in this great struggle. When the party defines its work, as it has done in the eighth plenum, as not being perfect and calls on its members not to fall back into complacency and not to mark time, this must be understood also as a criticism for all creative entities, including the trade unions. We must, all of us, cast away from ourselves all the routine and formalism and commit ourselves to work in the militant spirit of the times.

The eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum's decisions are of great and all-round importance for the present as well as the future. As is known, the plenum stressed the need to constantly raise the role of the masses and of their initiative, to find new ways to expand our socialist democracy, strengthening the state organs as well as control by workers, peasants, and intellectuals in all fields. The stress was placed on the struggle against bureaucracy and everything that prevents various organs, particularly at the base, from operating freely in conformity with their rights and abilities.

On the other hand, the plenum also drew attention to and insisted that, in the economic field, social productivity, and the perfecting of production relations, the organization of labor and managerial methods must be improved. The plenum instructed that economic logic must operate everywhere, that new mechanisms must be devised, leading to higher productivity and corresponding to the interests of society, the collective, the group, as well as individual interests.

It must be said that the decisions of the eighth plenum have been well-received by the masses and at work centers and institutions in the cities and in the countryside, at the base and at the center, and that things are beginning to move. The new situation is also reflected at this meeting. Numerous contributions have been made, particularly with regard to problems pertaining to the organization of labor and to perfecting production relations. In many cases, decisions have been adopted to apply certain measures in various fields. What is of fundamental importance is that the party's call that everyone should work to strengthen socialism is being answered with enthusiasm by the people. The party's call and the people's will are in full unison. This is a guarantee for the implementation of the decisions.

However, Comrade Ramiz Alia further said, we are still making only first steps in this direction. Some state, party, and economic bodies have not properly understood the decisions of the eighth plenum in-depth. Others are hesitant in tackling particular problems, especially in concretely applying decisions. I would say that even the trade unions, despite the steps undertaken, have not engaged themselves fully in this work.

The party insists that the trade unions should commit themselves more fully to resolving the fundamental problems of this or that enterprise. The party needs to know as well as possible what the workers are thinking about socialist property and what measures need to be taken to strengthen it. The same applies to production relations, pay, prices, services, public order, the activity of administrations, law enforcement, and so forth. The role of the trade unions in organizing the discussion of these matters outside of the influence of administrations or other bureaucratized factors is irreplaceable.

The tasks confronting us are not easy ones. They require changes in the method of work, regulations, competent authorities, and the nomenklatura, as well as in the planning and remuneration system, the rights and duties of workers. In other words, it is not a matter of merely registering things and affirming the need for improvements; what is needed now is more creativity in making changes that correspond to the current stage and to open up the way for future developments. In this direction, the Communists in state organs and the mass organizations should be active and distinguished fighters.

After stressing the imperative need to strengthen the role and initiative of the masses to perfect our socialist democracy, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on the need for the struggle against bureaucracy.

The revolutionization of life, the changes required by the times, and the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, are hindered by bureaucracy. In many different ways, he stated, bureaucracy opposes the revolutionary fervor of the masses, which it seeks to atrophy. It seeks to revoke the decisions and revolutionary measures adopted by the party, by bureaucratizing them, through procrastination, and so forth. The party, the workers class, and all the working people must, therefore, resolutely oppose this erosive and degenerating phenomenon. All weapons must be kept sharpened and must be used without sentimentalism against all bureaucratic stands, against all antisocialist phenomena that impose subjective wills on the masses. The struggle against bureaucracy and its accompanying manifestations, against injustices, privileges, misuse of official positions, and abuses of competences has always been and must remain at the center of attention of the party, the state organs, and the mass organizations. Our party has long ago recognized that bureaucracy and other alien manifestations hinder the driving forces of our new society and create objective conditions, opening up the possibility of sliding into anti-Marxist positions.

The workers class and its organization must fight to strengthen the people's authority, to raise the socialist victories to new heights. This struggle cannot be waged successfully without establishing complete and stringent proletarian control, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said, over everyone and everything. The factories, plants, social institutions, and all the social property is owned by the workers class, the working people. The workers must know how these assets are used, they must know what happens to the income deriving from these assets and the toil of people. Wherever workers control, the gales of socialist democracy must blow strongly. The workers class, through workers' control, must impose its will on bureaucratic officials and must not permit them to harm the working people's fundamental interests. The workers class must exercise its control wherever it feels this to be necessary. It must not wait to be called into action. This is the Leninist concept of trade unions, as schools of socialist administration. The workers class learns how to administer by controlling, by being invested with authority, and by defending the purity of our socialist order against all possible infection; against bureaucracy, injustices; against all those who misuse and abuse the trust given to them by the people and the workers class; against all those who behave like chieftains and masters, who hide behind the nomenklatura, and are detached from the people.

In our society, the state organs are elected by the people, but they, too, must be constantly under the control of the people. The factories, mines, and cooperatives belong to the people, and their administration must be under the control of the people. Production and cultural plans, too, and their implementation must be subjected to the control of the people. The hegemony of the workers class over everything means control. The trade unions must, therefore, place their operational force in the service of regenerating workers control.

Speaking about the role of the trade unions in defending the interests of the workers class, which are guaranteed by law, Comrade Ramiz said:

The fundamental interests of the workers class are protected by the law. Nevertheless, the workers need their solidarity organization. The trade unions protect the workers against those who distort state laws and government regulations, against bureaucrats, against opportunists and careerists, and against those who use their official authority to secure privileges for themselves. These may be found not only in the ranks of state officials, but even among party officials and among those elected to trade union committees.

We must state quite openly, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, that the trade unions must not neglect their direct functions as bodies which must guarantee the rights of the workers at work and outside of work and become appendages of the administrative and economic apparatus. I am not saying that they must demand accountability for the fulfillment of plans. However, to sit in at meetings with the directors and just agree with them on the plans—this means to take a narrow view of the matter.

The trade unions must tackle the education of young workers more actively, and working conditions as well, particularly of women. No concession whatsoever must be allowed in this direction, because all the possibilities now exist to fully apply the regulations intended to protect the workers' health. The trade unions have a right to reject any decision adopted by the administration when it considers such a decision to be against the interests of the workers. This means that the trade unions should conform and agree neither with the state or economic organs, nor with any particular members of these organs, nor with those workers who violate labor discipline and proletarian morality. If the trade unions operate actively in these and other similar directions, they will enjoy the trust of the workers and will also exert an influence on the fulfillment of plans and on matters concerning the protection of socialist property.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz stated: The party has confidence in the workers class and is inspired by it. It relies strongly on the work of the trade unions to mobilize the working people, to raise their revolutionary optimism, and to launch them into specific and creative actions.

I am convinced that the trade unions will tackle the tasks and objectives arising from the eighth plenum with renewed vigor and that they will carry out their tasks for the education of the workers, the promotion of socialist competitions, the consolidation of workers control, the fulfillment of plans, and the defense of the legitimate rights and interests of the workers, developing all the factors of the country's political, economic, and social development.

## Pact Repudiation of CSSR Invasion Viewed

*AU1312201389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Dec 89 p 4*

[Unattributed article: "A Delayed Admission"]

[Text] As our press has also reported, an unofficial meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states took place on 4 December in Moscow. At this meeting, the leaders of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland signed a common declaration revising their stand on the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. They were forced to admit in their declaration that the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 by the troops of their countries, as members of the Warsaw Pact military bloc, was a violation of this country's sovereignty and is to be condemned.

This is a delayed admission, after 21 years, made under the pressure of recent events in East Europe. However, the world is not just now learning of the nature of the brutal intervention of the Soviet Union and its allies in Czechoslovakia.

It is appropriate to recall here that the People's Republic of Albania condemned this serious step taken against the sovereignty of a free country on the very day after the aggression occurred. A joint declaration of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania on 22 August stressed that "the military forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republics of Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and the GDR, in a flagrant breach of all the laws governing relations among states, in an astonishing and treacherous way and using fascist methods, committed a brutal act of aggression against the CSSR and the Czechoslovak people by invading with force the territory of the CSSR.... The AWP Central Committee and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania most firmly denounce and condemn this barbaric aggression." The declaration goes on to say that the aggression "constitutes a most flagrant violation of the principle of the sovereignty of peoples, and proves once again what the AWP and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania declared long ago that the Warsaw Pact has ceased to be a defensive pact of its member countries and has become a pact for war and slavery and a tool for pressure, intervention, and aggression."

In concrete expression of its condemnation of this act Albania decided to also withdraw de jure from the Warsaw Pact.

After about 3 weeks, on 26 September 1968, the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania denounced the Warsaw Pact and passed a special law. The law states, among other things, that "bearing in mind that the aggression of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and Bulgaria against the CSSR shows that the pact in question has been trampled upon in the most brutal fashion and has been transformed from a shield against imperialist aggression into a means of attack against its own members, the People's Assembly has decided, on the basis of the relevant article of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania and on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, to denounce the Warsaw Pact and to free the People's Republic of Albania from every obligation stemming from this pact." Thus, a decision was made to also withdraw de jure from the pact.

Our party and government had long before warned the peoples and especially the Warsaw Pact member countries of the danger the pact posed when it had been turned into an aggressive bloc in the service of the Soviet Union's neocolonialist policies. Time showed the justice of this view. The denunciation of the aggression against Czechoslovakia in 1968 was a clear testimony in this case, in addition to the fact that the Albanian people refused to accept invasions in the superpowers' spheres of influence, and that they would always show solidarity with, and support for, those who fight for the freedom and sovereignty of their countries and for equality and the defense of their sovereignty.

## ATA Cites Castro on East European Reform

*AU1312114389 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Fidel Castro on the Reforms in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 13 (ATA)—The Cuban news agency PRENSA LATINA reports that in a speech held these days in Havana, the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, emphasized that Cuba will not abandon its revolutionary principles. "Imperialism," Castro stressed, "is inviting the East European countries to profit from the surplus of the capital to develop capitalism themselves and take part in plundering the underdeveloped countries." American teams of specialists have been sent to some of these countries to program the capitalist development, he underscored, which underlines that these societies are going towards capitalism and anticommunism and that the capitalist values there are assuming an abnormal force. Further on, the Cuban leader mentioned what he defined as grave wounds of capitalism, inequality, prostitution, drug-addiction, gambling, unemployment, the pollution and exploitation of the less developed countries by the industrialised countries through the unequal trade conditions.

In some organs of the Soviet press, the Cuban leader stressed further on, it is demanded that an end be put to the hitherto trade relations with Cuba and to conduct with an unequal trade, the same with that the U.S.A, applies with the underdeveloped countries. Such an activity testifies that the Soviet Union aims to join in the blockade that the U.S.A. has imposed on Cuba for quite a long time. Further on, he stressed the fact that the Soviet Union is striving to negate and destroy the historic deeds and extraordinary merits of this people is disgusting.

## CC Plenum Resumes; Dyulgerov Asks To Resign

*AU1312140289 Sofia BTA in English 1247 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] is continuing for a third day with discussions about the country and party's condition as well about the immediate tasks.

Last night's discussion went on till 10 pm due to the large number of people who wished to take the floor. In the first two days 37 people made statements about the report of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP read by Mr Petur Mladenov.

At the first session this morning Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions requested to be relieved of his post as member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

He based his resignation on the principled issue about the trade unions' independence. Two weeks ago the Bulgarian trade unions declared their independence, stressing that there is only one kind of power which they will observe: the power of their members. The trade unions will do what the people require and will express and protect their interests, Mr Peter Dyulgerov said. The BCP policy will be backed if it meets the needs and requirements of the working people. Otherwise, if it is in contradiction to these interests, the trade unions will criticise it and will express disagreement, they will come with alternative stances.

On handing in his resignation, Mr Dyulgerov appealed to the other trade union officials participating in party, state and economic bodies at different levels, to follow suit.

The trade unions' independence requires a principled stance about the trade union officials' participation in executive bodies. This issue is extremely topical now, he said.

According to Dyulgerov, by declaring the Bulgarian trade unions independent, a radical step was made toward their activation in the new conditions and the return of the people's confidence. Actually they are the first to break with the command and administrative bloc, with which they had been inextricably bound, Mr Dyulgerov said.

According to him, the greatest problems now lie in the trade union bodies themselves, because the people are the same, the structures remain untouched, the stereotypes are there. The inertia of passivity and agreement is strong. Things are so because many of the trade union officials are strongly bound with the economic and party bodies and have no immunity against encroachment and prosecution. The cadre renewal is inevitable, Mr Petur Dyulgerov said. The working people are searching for and will find their natural leaders. It is this and not the incantations that will destroy the nomenklatura.

A number of speakers insistently raised the condition of agriculture, demanding that farming and the food industry be assigned an absolute priority in the economy as early as 1990. At present the food industry generates 8 per cent of the national income, but receives as little as 3 per cent of investment and 0.3 per cent of mechanical engineering output.

They emphasized that a way out of the crisis in this field is free planning and market prices for agricultural produce. It was suggested to draft a law on land and agricultural production and to abandon once and for all Todor Zhivkov's thesis that agriculture can be self-financing. It is further suggested that the farmer cooperatives, which existed until 15 years ago, be restored. A number of those who took the floor recommended that all arable land in highland areas be made available for private ownership and inheritance.

Equal economic conditions should be provided for the development on an equal footing of all forms of ownership: state, cooperative, collective and private. Private ownership will secure our development for a long time ahead, especially in agriculture and the services sector, said Prof Ivan Iliev, vice president and chief scientific secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Today's speakers declared themselves in favour of drafting a number of new laws along with the draft of a new constitution. "We are already late and we cannot and must not delay it any longer," said Prof Ivan Iliev. He rationalized the need to enact next year a package of laws guaranteeing the dismantling of the command-and-administer system and to lay down a fundamentally new mechanism of management by economic means and methods. Prof Iliev called for more resources to be allocated to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' institutes to meet their requirements for materials and equipment.

Raising the matter of an early general election in the spring of 1990, Mr Angel Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, suggested that before that the Constitution be partially amended to guarantee the holding of really free and democratic elections. He also suggested to reduce the number of national representatives (members of parliament) from the current 400.

Prof Stefan Angelov, chairman of the National Coordination Committee on the Studies of Man with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, spoke about the state of social sciences which are dominated by dogmatism and quotations. A number of scholars have been doing nothing but expounding Todor Zhivkov's reports.

He described the process of the BCP's Leninization in the past as a two-pronged process. On the one hand, the party adopted the Leninist theory and strategy of revolutionary struggle, and on the other, it was forced to accept Stalinist schemes. According to the professor, BCP historians should reconsider the role of Georgi Dimitrov, who warned that Bulgaria should not embark on the road of Soviet-style socialism. Bowing to Stalinist pressure, Georgi Dimitrov failed to elaborate this understanding and gave it up, Prof Angelov said.

Prof Angelov, along with many other speakers, urged that the BCP swiftly and uncompromisingly purge itself of all its members who have abused their authority and who have acted against the law.

### Speech by Lukanov

*AU1312114089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Excerpt" of speech by Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at morning session of plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee in Sofia on 13 December]

[Text] I must stress that the very creation of the commission [to investigate the former regime] has aroused enormous public interest. So far the commission has received thousands of letters, appeals, and telephone calls from citizens and collectives, from party organizations and individual Communists, who insist that specific cases and breaches of the law be examined. This shows that, despite their shaken trust, our public has faith in the capability of the party and the socialist state to (?seek) the truth and to wage an uncompromising struggle in order to purge our public life of the outrages and accumulations [nasloeniyata] that the authoritarian system in Bulgaria gave birth to and produced.

Bearing in mind that the time that we have available does not permit us to reach impartial, precise conclusions on all the questions that the public has placed before us, we have decided that it will be correct at the present state to focus the commission's efforts on the following main problems:

First. The financial and other offenses committed by Todor Zhivkov, his family, and closest associates.

Second. Analysis of the cases of illegal and improper enrichment, and application for funds to intensify public control and the campaign against these phenomena.

Third. Corruption and abuse of official positions for showing personal favor to leading cadres.

Fourth. Investigation of the financial position and the expediency of the expenditures incurred within the framework of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation, the Banner of Peace Center, and the 13 Centuries of Bulgaria Fund.

Fifth. A technical, economic, and financial evaluation of certain major investment projects that have caused and are now causing substantial losses for the national economy, including the question of the responsibility for these projects.

Sixth. Reassessment of the party punishments and court sentences passed against party and state figures during the post-1956 period.

Seventh. An additional assessment of a number of questions not elucidated during the trials of Georgi Vutev and Zhivko Popov. The commission examined separately certain issues connected with the trial of Traycho Kostov and the tragic suicide of [name indistinct].

I wish to emphasize that the commission has adopted the line that it conduct its investigations and analyses in most strict accordance with the requirements relating to maximum objectivity and impartiality, subjecting the facts and circumstances to assessment from all aspects, and not permitting the struggle for purity and legality to be waged by means and methods that contradict this lofty aim.

I would also like to stress that, at the moment, our findings are preliminary and are subject to further revision. I will tell you about some of them.

First. Concerning the question of the incomes and expenditures of Todor Zhivkov and his family.

We are continuing to investigate this question, first and foremost from the viewpoint of the sources, their regularity, and the legality of the expenditures. However, our findings to date provide full grounds to instruct the competent organs to examine in detail and in depth the available documentation and to present their final findings and conclusions in the shortest possible time. The commission has issued such an instruction.

Second. About 14 million leva of public funds have been spent on the Banner of Peace Children's Assemblies alone. This has to be evaluated against the background of the acute shortage of funds being suffered by a number of specialized children's establishments in Bulgaria.

Third. A lot of work still lies ahead in order to elucidate all the details in connection with the party punishments imposed on and the court trials conducted against leading party and state figures and rank-and-file Communists in the post-1956 period. Here we have in mind the expulsion of the following from the party's leading organs and the imposition of punishments on them: Georgi Chankov, Dobri Turpeshev, Yonko Panov, Boris Taskov, Anton Yugov, Todor Zvezdov, [name indistinct], Slavcho Gilin, [name indistinct] (?Chekolarov), General Nikola Gruncharov, Nikola Kufardzhiev, Veselin Vashin, Georgi Milev, Khristo Prodanov, Ivan Dionisiev, Iliya Alkov, and Benzhamin Vagon. The matter also concerns the establishment of the truth surrounding the so-called group of conspirators led by Tsolo Krustev, Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, Gen Tsvetko Anev, and others. This also includes establishing the true circumstances surrounding the death of Ivan Todorov-Gorunya. The matter also concerns the Communists punished and condemned in the trial held in the town of Pleven in 1978, the sanctions imposed on the so-called Maoists, and a number of other similar cases.

In order to reach final conclusions on these cases, we have to review and analyze an immense volume of documentation. However, at the moment we can draw the conclusion that these cases all have one common feature, namely that the party, administrative, and judicial punishments were imposed first and foremost because of the political reaction and resistance of the above-listed comrades against the assaults of the personal regime on the [words indistinct] Bulgarian Communist Party and the laws of our socialist state.

Fourth. We have started an investigation into the inexpedient and ineffective projects involving the inappropriate expenditure of foreign exchange funds, and so on. Comrade Petur Mladenov has already mentioned how much the Heavy Machine Building Combine in Radomir has cost the state. There are also a number of other projects that require comprehensive investigation. For example, because of Stamen Stamenov, who enjoyed the unreserved support and confidence of Todor Zhivkov, over 150 million convertible leva were spent on oil prospecting in Libya, without any serious efforts being made to have this money restored. Because of Ognyan Doynov and certain other economic leaders, tens of millions of convertible leva were spent on the purchase of an unused steel-strip rolling installation, which does not work. Moreover, foreign investments that promised no results were made on reject and nonfunctioning equipment for the [word indistinct] Equipment Combine, and so on. We are continuing to analyze these cases.

I would like to stop here. If the members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] have any questions to ask the commission, I and the other commission members who are present at the plenum today will try to answer them.

In conclusion, I would like to post an exceptionally important and serious issue connected with the trial of Traycho Kostov. It is well known that when Traycho Kostov was rehabilitated, the political charges made against him were not finally expunged. Slanderous and false accusations were allowed to remain in the resolution on his rehabilitation, concerning—I quote—committed gross political errors of a nationalistic nature—unquote— and the allegation that he was—and I quote—an exponent of anti-Soviet elements within the party and the state apparatus, of a hostile attitude toward Georgi Dimitrov and of disloyalty toward the party—unquote.

The proposals on the full restoration of the political honor and pure name of this remarkable revolutionary and party figure have so far been declined. We propose, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of his tragic demise, that the Central Committee should adopt the following decision:

It rejects and declares null and void the accusations against Traycho Kostov for errors of a nationalistic nature and it rejects the evaluation made at the September 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum that he has allegedly been an exponent of anti-Soviet elements within the party and state apparatus, that he had a hostile attitude toward Georgi Dimitrov, and was disloyal to the party.

These allegations are considered premeditated, calumnious, and false.

## Investigation of Zhivkov

*AU1312130089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] We continue to follow the proceedings of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

A proposal was submitted to discuss the party positions of Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov. Comrade Petur Mladenov proposed that the Politburo should carry out a careful, in-depth analysis of the political damage caused by the actions of these people and present a complete political evaluation at the next plenum. As far as offenses against the law were concerned, these should form the subject of investigation by the relevant competent organs.

Comrade Petur Mladenov's proposal was accepted, with three votes against.

The afternoon session begins at 1500.

## Leading Role Renounced

*AU1312145189 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] renounces its leading role in society and the state.

The plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP which ended here today decided to entrust the parliamentary commission of the party with the introduction at the session of the National Assembly, which starts tomorrow, a proposal for repealing of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of Bulgaria.

They read as follows:

Paragraph 2. "The Bulgarian Communist Party is the leading force in society and in the state."

Paragraph 2. "The Bulgarian Communist Party heads the construction of an advanced socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in close cooperation with the Bulgarian Agrarian Party."

## Stanishev on Muslim Issue

*AU1312155689 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—To a great extent the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] has lost its qualities of a political force as a result of the deformed understanding of its role and place in the society, said Dimitur Stanishev, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP.

The speaker stood for active advancing actions on the side of the BCP aiming at anticipating the events and attracting the masses. We must not underestimate the newly formed organizations and movements, he said, adding that if their aims do not contradict the course for the construction of democratic society the party should cooperate with them.

If the aims and methods of these organizations are extremist and anti-socialist, continued Dimitur Stanishev, we will delimit ourselves from them and we will try to isolate them through political means.

Attention was paid to the need of developing a new policy of the BCP oriented toward consolidation of the entire Bulgarian people, toward broad open dialogue with representatives of all groups of the population, the Muslim included, for overcoming of the hitherto distortions.

In the framework of this dialogue our attitude toward the Muslims in Bulgaria is an attitude toward brothers, said Dimitur Stanishev, one of deep respect and recognition of their religious feelings and traditions. For us they are citizens absolutely equal in rights and freedoms, bearing equal responsibility for the future of this country.

A proposal was made for the forming of a special commission which would work out the BCP's policy for consolidation of the people.

### 'Rehabilitation' of Kostov

*AU1312162289 Sofia BTA in English 1511 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] adopted a decision for the full rehabilitation of the eminent BCP activist, statesmen and publicist Traycho Kostov (1897-1949).

Traycho Kostov, one of the leaders of the anti-fascist struggle in 1941-1944, worked as Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. In 1949 he was accused of anti-party and anti-state activity and was hanged in the same year. In 1956 he was rehabilitated, but part of the slanderous and untrue accusations against him were not withdrawn at that time.

It is said in the decision of the BCP CC plenum:

"The CC of the BCP repudiates and entirely withdraws as willful, slanderous and untrue the accusations against Traycho Kostov, charged with 'gross errors nationalistic in essence,' and the assessment made at the plenum of the CC of the BCP in September 1956 according to which he was "the mouthpiece of certain elements in the party and the state apparatus who had anti-Soviet feelings, were hostile to Georgi Dimitrov and insincere with the party."

### Z. Zhivkov, Uzunov Speeches

*AU1312174589 Sofia BTA in English 1642 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Mr Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], stressed in his speech before the plenum that the BCP must respect the independence of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and as an equal partner enhance its relations with it. He stood for activation of the public organizations.

Mr Evgeni Uzunov, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS), dwelled on the crisis of youth's trust in the DKMS, admitting that the organization has been turned into an appendage of the command-administrative system. At present the leadership of the youth union has proclaimed a broad discussion on the future of the organization and is considering the convening of an extraordinary congress. Evgeni Uzunov stood against the formal privileges from the membership in the DKMS and against the nomenklatura in the organization. He grounded the need for a new policy of the BCP towards youth, stood against the hitherto practice of party guardianship over the DKMS.

There will not be any success in the management of the economy if the superconcentration of financial means in the budget is not liquidated, which is the economic base of the command-administrative system, points out in his statement at today's plenum Mr Krustyu Stanilov, member of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the Agricultural and Construction Engineering Association.

According to Mr Stanilov the schedule envisaged by the competent bodies of the government for drafting and endorsement of the 1990 plan does not correspond to the dynamics of the processes developing in this country and in its economy. He proposes that the plan of the economic companies be confirmed, with an obligation for conclusion of the economic contracts not later than December 25 this year. The speaker warned that otherwise there can be chaos in the economic relations at the beginning of the next year, with unpredictable political consequences.

Krustyu Stanilov spoke also of the question concerning the provision of information about the social stratification in Bulgaria, as well as in other countries.

### Mikhaylov Warns Plenum

*AU1312175589 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["New Party Leadership Criticized"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, warned the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] that the party may not live to see its 100th anniversary or may have to mark it under conditions of opposition if it does not avail itself of the last chance time has given to it. In his speech before the plenum Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, who until two years ago was in charge of the ideological policy of the Central Committee, described the complicated political situation in the country. There is a rapid development of processes which have already got ahead of the party leadership's reaction.

According to the speaker, the most important tasks to be carried out in this situation is to save the leading role of the BCP, to save socialism in Bulgaria as a social system. Mr Mikhaylov said that after November 10, when Todor Zhivkov was replaced, the possibilities that were opened have not been made use of, that the new leadership lags behind the developments and has not prepared the party ready for action. The new CC leadership's political level, its competency and ability to react turned out to be not up to the requirements of the super-responsible situation, Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov stated.

He also criticized the leadership for the party's not having a programme orientation which, in his opinion, is the most important precondition for defending its leading role. The speaker reproached the Politburo that after November 10 it has not seriously considered the existing economic problems and the democratization.

The citizens' associations anti-complex must be fully overcome. In a dialogue, a discussion or in a political fight with them the party must act on the basis of equality of rights and not as a privileged force, said Mr Mikhaylov. He supported the proposals for deleting the text from the Constitution which guarantees the leading role of the BCP, making it clear that this does not mean giving up this role. This text makes the party irresponsible, creates conditions for persecuting people who think differently, stifles democracy.

Mr Mikhaylov said that a reassessment of the development of the country after 1944 should be made, for which it is necessary to disclose the archives completely. He warned that the attempts to lay the blame for the deformations and the disastrous situation in the country only on Todor Zhivkov does not correspond to facts.

### Speakers at Plenum

*AU1312193489 Sofia BTA in English*
*1848 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Ms Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, spoke about the inequality of women in society. Bulgarian women are now employed mainly in sectors that operate in many shifts and where the working conditions are very hard. In trade the women who do hard manual work are 77 per cent, in agriculture 75 per cent, in mechanical engineering 35 per cent. The percentage of women working in night shifts is much greater than that of men. Although women account for 50 per cent of all university graduates, half of them occupy working places which do not correspond to their qualifications.

In the last years a gap has been opened between the party and state leadership on one side and the Bulgarian women on the other, Ms Lagadinova stated. This gap has become even wider with the problem of free abortion. She reminded that for 20 years now the women's movement is fighting against the barbarous laws which led up to the death of many women and giving birth to thousands of abnormal children.

Professor Mako Dakov, chairman of the National Committee for the Protection and Regeneration of the Environment, dwelt upon ecological problems. Revealing a number of extremely alarming facts about the destruction and pollution of nature, he stated that the programme of Todor Zhivkov's regime submitted for nation-wide discussion is not realistic and the priorities listed therein are all wrong. He insisted that the government should determine the towns and regions which are in a disastrous ecological situation and that the National Assembly should take urgent ecological measures. The government should also approach the other seven Danubian states for a meeting at which measures for the protection of the Danube will be discussed.

Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], stressed that the new approach, the new style in the internal party life and in the relations between the central party bodies and the party organizations should correspond to the principles and logic of the changes in the entire society: democratization, real electivity, elimination of the red tape and centralism which stifle any live thought or initiative.

He, as well as other speakers, noted that the attempts to activate the actions of the Communists and the local party organizations with the former traditional and rather discredited approaches did not give any special result. As a concrete example was quoted the letter by the secretariat of the CC of the BCP to the Communists which had not found the expected response.

Mr Andrey Lukanov thinks it necessary during the next weeks to carry out consultations at the local party organizations concerning the qualities of the party secretaries and leaderships, this should be something like a confidence vote for the leaders. That must be carried out in most strict adherence to the principle of democracy and glasnost: obligatory consideration and voting for alternative candidates; secret ballot; full glasnost and openness of the discussion; no pressure from "above."

The same criteria must be used in the personnel consolidation and innovation of the regional leaderships, said Andrey Lukanov. It is not a secret that it is this level where the "feudal" mentality, alienation from the people, blustering and corruption among the leading personnel are spread most and are most conspicuous, and hence are most unbearable for the people, he said.

### Zhivkov Expelled From Party

*AU1312143189 Sofia Domestic Service*
*in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] We are again connected with our reporters room at the Boyana Residence, where the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum is taking place and from where Tsveti Gerov will brief us on the latest developments:

[Begin Gerov recording] An hour ago the closing afternoon session of the BCP Central Committee began. Comrade Petur Mladenov said that during the recess the Politburo had again dealt with Ivan Arnov's proposal to discuss the party position of Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov.

On behalf of the Politburo it was proposed to adopt the following decision:

In connection with grave offenses of basic party and moral principles and as a result of having allowed deep distortions to occur in the party and society, and as a result of gross shortcomings committed in the country's socioeconomic development by Todor Zhivkov, former general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and by his entourage, which brought about a political and economic crisis, the BCP Central Committee decides:

1. Todor Khristov Zhivkov is hereby expelled from the ranks of the BCP;

2. Milko Balev and Vladimir Zhivkov are expelled from the BCP.

The decision was unanimously adopted.

Comrade Petur Mladenov also expressed the opinion of the Politburo that it would be expedient to adopt a decision on Petur Dyulgerov's request to be released from his post of candidate member of the Politburo.

Following this, Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Resolution Commission, reported on the proposals submitted by the plenum participants. The resolution is a voluminous document of 20 pages and is divided into several sections.

The sections are devoted to social and economic problems of the country, to the state of the political system, and to the urgent tasks for its total restructuring, to the party and its role in the development of society at the present stage of development.

The resolution was unanimously adopted following the debates.

Comrade Petur Mladenov is now delivering a closing speech.

We will inform you more in detail on the proceedings of the closing session in the forthcoming news programs. [end recording]

## Zhivkov Expelled

*AU1412110389 Sofia BTA in English*
*2236 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—In the end of the morning session there was a vote for closing the discussion after 42 participants took the floor.

The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] was assigned the task to organize the study, to give replies and solve the problems, critical notes and proposals contained in the letters sent to the plenum and the ideas which may be put forward during the preparation for the forthcoming party congress.

At the proposal of Georgi Varnov, alternate member of the CC of the BCP and first secretary of the Municipal BCP Committee of Plovdiv, the plenum considered the party position of Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev and Vladimir Zhivkov.

With an absolute majority the plenum adopted a decision to expel Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov from the BCP for gross violation of basic party and moral principles, deep deformations in the party and society, and gross errors in the socio-economic development of the country by which it was plunged into a political and economic crisis.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP is entrusted with the task to complete the investigation of the question related to the responsibility of the persons belonging to Todor Zhivkov's circle and their position in the party.

It is proposed that the National Assembly should set up a special parliamentary commission to study the state aspects of the question and that the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Finance should carry out a financial and legal checkup.

Mr Petur Mladenov asked the plenum not to consider the application of Petur Dyulgerov to be released from his post of alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and expressed the Politburo's stand on this matter.

The proposal was accepted.

The plenum hailed the decision of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Union, whose leader is Petur Dyulgerov, for independence of trade union bodies and organizations of political parties, state bodies and structures, of economic and administrative leaderships and other public organizations and movements.

The plenum adopted a resolution (a resume is transmitted separately).

Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, delivered a closing speech.

## Belchev Notes 'Hard Times'

*AU1312200789 Sofia BTA in English*
*1857 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Minister of Finance Predicts Hard Times"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Unsound and thoughtless ideas have been financed with the people's money, said in his speech Mr Belcho Belchev, member of the Politburo and minister of finance. The concept for rapidly settling the problem of housing shortages resulted in a loss amounting to 250 million leva plus 50 million dollars, another loss of 150 million was incurred by prospecting regions of the Libyan desert for oil that had been drilled long ago. There are a lot of other examples which can only intensify the dark colours, said Mr Belchev at the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

He proposed that a checkup of all state investments and subsidies granted to companies should be immediately carried out and that unprofitable productions should be gradually closed. We have neither financial nor credit sources which could enable us to build up and finance the sectors engaged in consumer goods production, he said, and explained that "the only way" to realize the policy of the BCP aimed at accelerated development of these sectors is "to limit investments made in projects, the construction of which can be postponed or entirely abandoned."

Mr Belchev pointed out that by cutting the subsidies granted for the maintenance of public organizations, the construction of luxury buildings and "representative" activities the economies realized in 1990 only will amount to 300 million leva's worth. He underlined that it is necessary "to make a detailed analysis of the staff of the administrative apparatus in each economic unit and to eliminate all unnecessary ones." Cutting expenses can be performed only with the participation and the support of the whole people, Mr Belchev said.

Dwelling on the programme for structural changes aimed at sharply increasing the efficiency of the economy, the minister of finance stated, "We should cherish no illusions. The problems cannot be solved in a year or two and we can hardly expect to settle them even in five years. We should get accustomed to the thought that we will have to pay the price for the difficult, critical situation we are in and this price is not going to be cheap".

Mr Belchev underlined that as early as in 1990 it is necessary to pay special attention to agriculture. Maybe it is here that we will have to begin with the first steps towards a market socialism, he said, and added that "there is nothing to worry about if the state ceases to control the prices of a big part of fruit and vegetables and they are formed on the basis of supply and demand."

The minister of finance made a stand against the idea to increase the salaries and pensions received by people in the lowest income bracket, saying that "under the conditions of a great discrepancy in the goods-money ratio this can lead to only one thing—uncontrollable long-figured inflation." In his opinion the alternative way out is to form a policy of increasing the rate of wages at a minimal pace. He proposed that a special governmental body for analysis, control and management of the inflation should be set up.

Minister Belchev made an appeal for increased public control over production expenses and profits distribution. He said that it is necessary to solve "the soonest possible" the problems of ownership by a broader legislation which should regulate the rights of companies and their relations with the state. Besides tight control should be exercised because the losses and damages incurred through negligence, gross misappropriations and wasting material values amount to hundreds of millions of leva, the minister of finance said.

In conclusion Mr Belcho Belchev expressed the conviction that the Bulgarian people will find strength to overcome "the particularly severe critical situation" and decisively innovate socialism.

## Gorbachev Talks Noted

*AU1412112489 Sofia BTA in English 2109 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] The participants in the plenum were acquainted with the content of the talks between Petur Mladenov and Mikhail Gorbachev at their meeting in Moscow on December 5, this year.

The especially close relations between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the CPSU and between the two states will not only be preserved but their development will continue, what has been done in the bilateral cooperation will be preserved and increased, points out the information.

An additional impetus to the development of the traditional Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation and the friendship between the two peoples is the fact that the acceleration of the process of restructuring in Bulgaria contributes to the deepening of the mutual openness and trust in the relations between the two parties and states.

It is also pointed out that the experience accumulated till the present in the restructuring in the Soviet Union will be used creatively in all spheres of life of society taking into consideration the specific Bulgarian conditions.

There is common resoluteness, ascertained during the exchange of opinions between Petur Mladenov and Mikhail Gorbachev, the two states will resolutely go on the road of further development of democracy, glasnost, innovation of socialism, eliminating deformations, all good things must be preserved and all best achievements of human civilizations must be used. In the sphere of international policy the two countries will follow unflinchingly the common policy of peace, cooperation and understanding in Europe and in the world.

## Mladenov Closing Speech at Plenum

*AU1312191389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Text" of speech by Petur Mladenov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at closing session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum in Sofia on 13 December—recorded]

[Text] Our plenum is drawing to an end after 3 days of exceptionally intense debates. They were inspired by active deliberations and by an awareness of our historical responsibility. The most important thing I would like to stress here, in agreement with the other Politburo members, is that in its overwhelming majority, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee approved the report submitted and the conclusions it contained, and a short while ago it already adopted the draft resolution, which was submitted as well.

We also rejoice at the fact that, according to information received from all over the country, our plenum's work has the support of the people's masses. We mapped out a path that will be difficult and filled with obstacles, but it is a path of restructuring and renewing our country. The most important milestone along this path will be the extraordinary BCP Congress, which, assessing the proposals of the Central Committee members, will be convened on 19 March 1990, and this has also been included in the resolution.

Let us examine the most characteristic features of our debates, which manifest a sincere striving to overcome the stagnation to which the party and our society were subjected for reasons that are well known to all of us.

The first of these features is the exceptional activity of the Central Committee members, and this was manifested both during the preparation of the documents, as well as during the plenum itself. Personally, I very much regret that we were unable to satisfy the wish of all those who asked to take the floor. This is the first time I have attended a BCP Central Committee session at which more than (?half) of the Central Committee members asked to express their stand on the questions being discussed.

In the second place, we could stress that all speakers denounced the practices of the past, but this denunciation was not prompted by political opportunism. It was the expression of a profound inner reevaluation. It was also signficant that the position of the Central Committee on this question was not confined to the traditional condemnation, but is oriented toward the future. In the first place, profound concern was expressed about how to overcome the subjective and objective causes that induced the social deformations, affected the Leninist norms of party life, and undermined the prestige of the Communist Party.

In the third place, we can all note with great satisfaction that with very few exceptions the main attention was not focused on the selfish effort toward self-justification, but on really basic questions, the solution of which determines the real capacity of the BCP to proceed along a new path. The main attention was focused on the place and role of the party in society, on the personal and collective responsibility of the party members, on the requirement for qualitatively new and strong methods of work, capable of responding to the needs of the new time.

In the fourth place, we dealt with new ideas. We dealt with proposals and initiatives which in their entirety represented what we would call a working platform of the BCP on the eve of such great events of natiowide importance as the forthcoming congress and the elections.

The discussion on these proposals set a real example of creative energy and party practice. It did not leave any doubt about what should be a priority task for all of us, for every party member in the forthcoming exceptionally dynamic and tense days and months.

I think that everyone is already aware of the evaluations and of the new tasks. There is no place for abstract deliberations that are an end in themselves. The coordinates of the future are clearly defined and we should proceed along them. Of course, what is at stake is the construction of a new Bulgaria, of a Bulgaria that is a democratic, law-governed, and socialist state. We have no other method of implementing our party view, our concept on the socialist future of the motherland, apart from mastering this approach in the real sense of the word and inspiring the minds and hearts of millions of Bulgarian people with these ideas.

Very soon we shall face a nationwide test—namely free and democratic elections—and precisely on this occasion we should prove our worthiness and our practical ability to lead the people toward progress and prosperity, toward a new era, with unprecedented opportunities for development, facing truly global challenges.

It is through this method and not by eliminating some legal paragraph—even if it is an article of the Constitution—that we shall demonstrate the influence of the party, we shall confirm its ability to play a vanguard role in our society. For this reason the plenum decided not to wait for the drafting of a new Constitution, but as early as at the next session, as early as tomorrow, to propose to the National Assembly on behalf of our own parliamentary group, namely the group of the Communist Party, that this text should be canceled from the Constitution.

In its activities the party shall rely on the patriotic and civilized political forces in our society. They are striving for security, for stability, and for social progress.

We consider the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union as precisely such a force. We consider it an independent political party and our loyal ally—not an appendage of the BCP.

The Fatherland Front, the Dimitrov Komsomol, and the trade unions must find and shall certainly find their role in the revolutionary changes of society. We shall conduct a dialogue and will cooperate with all political and social groups on the basis of socialist choice, on the basis of a law-governed state, and on the basis of patriotism.

The restructuring of our party has begun. In the period since the November Plenum alone our party was convened four times and accomplished a real cadre and political revolution, as I already remarked on several occasions from this rostrum. The plenary staff, that is, we the members and candidate members of the Central Committee, within only a month have turned into a real operational, working organ, an organ that is creating a policy of national dimensions. The starting energy should be accelerated, the movement should gather momentum. The constant changes of renewal should be transferred to the oblasts and municipalities, to the primary party organizations. Prior to the extraordinary congress, the process of restructuring within the party on a local scale, regarding the organs and cadre aspects, should be concluded. At the congress this should also apply to the top, namely to the leading organs.

Comrades, we are facing a tremendous amount of political work, with regard to scope and pace, work that, despite the short time we have, should not be hastily accomplished. The important thing in which we should not waste any time at all is the need to engage in a dialogue with the people, with party members, whom we should help to find their way in the new situation; we should inspire them with optimism.

A very promising phenomenon and proof of the party's truly close relations with the people is the fact that the party is finding its way without waiting for our concepts. This is confirmed by thousands of letters and proposals addressed to the plenum. However, the enthusiasm of the party rank-and-file members for changes and for readjustment should be headed and guided by the party leadership.

I would like to end by stating that we have no other alternative for bringing the country safely to shore, apart from moblizing the people's masses for creative labor and conscious discipline. We have no alternative other than the party's unity with the people, other than our people's unity in the name of a pure and sacred republic, in the name of democratic socialist Bulgaria.

## Mladenov Concludes Plenum

*AU1312160389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] As we already announced, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum closed with the adoption of a resolution. The final speech was delivered by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

He pointed out the exceptional activity of the BCP Central Committee members on the questions discussed, stressing that the denunciation of past practices by all speakers is not an expression of political opportunism, but of a profound inner reevaluation.

Comrade Petur Mladenov said: It is vitally important to point out that the Central Committee's stand on this issue is not limited to traditional denunciations, but is oriented toward the future.

In evaluating the statements made at the plenum, the general secretary pointed out with satisfaction that genuine questions of principle were the main focus of attention. How these questions are dealt with will determine the party's real capacity to embark on a new path.

The proposals submitted at the plenum, the new ideas and initiatives, which were shared in their entirety, represent the BCP's working program on the eve of a forthcoming event of such nationwide importance as the congress scheduled for 19 March and the conclusions, Petur Mladenov stated in his closing speech.

I think that, following the plenum, the assessments and the new tasks are already clear and there is no place for abstact deliberations that are merely an end in themselves.

What we are now confronted with is the construction of new Bulgaria as a democratic, law-governed, socialist state.

In his final speech, the BCP Central Committee general secretary declared that as early as at the next session, which means tomorrow, the party's parliamentary group will propose to the National Assembly that it delete the text on the party's leading role from the Constitution.

Dwelling on the party's relations with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the mass organizations Comrade Petur Mladenov stressed that the party, in its activities, will rely on the industrious and civilized political forces of our society, striving for security, stability, and social progess.

In conclusion, the party's general secretarty pointed out that the present process of renewal should be transferred to oblasts, to municipalities, and to primary party organizations.

The process of restructuring within the party on a local scale, as regards organizational and cadre aspects, should be accomplished prior to the extraordinary congress.

Comrade Petur Mladenov's closing statement contains an appeal for the mobilization of the people's masses for productive labor and conscious discipline, for our people's unification in the name of a pure and sacred republic, for the sake of democratic and socialist Bulgaria.

## Mladenov Speaks at Public Rally After Plenum

*AU1312172089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1605 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Vesela Maeva report on public rally organized by local Sofia Bulgarian Communist Party organizations in Sofia, with speech by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council—live]

[Text] This rally is organized by the Sofia City Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] organization, by the municipal party committees, and at the initiative of our colleagues from the Television Information Department. All Communists and working people from Sofia have been invited to attend this rally, not because it is an official obligation, but by virtue of their convictions of support for real restructuring, for the democratization and consolidation of the social forces, and for the construction of a modern, civilized, socialist Bulgaria. At this moment Comrade Petur Mladenov, our first party and state leader, is speaking on the platform:

[Mladenov] The BCP has adopted the only correct policy of salvation for Bulgaria. We have rejected the administrative-command system, we have renounced the regime of personal power, we have denounced the regime of diktat, because it was in total contradiction, not only with our Blagoev and Dimitrov traditions, but also with the basic humanitarian and democratic norms. What is more, this system visibly showed that it was a brake on our development, that it was shameful for socialist Bulgaria.

Nevertheless, comrades, the party found the strength in itself to cast off this enormous extra burden that was stifling us. Our society is to a great extent under the influence of the shock of awakening. It is ridding itself of the mark of self-humiliation, and of the manifold moral and physical pressures to which it had been subjected.

The reasons for the economic difficulties, for the moral decline, for the people's crisis of confidence in the party have already been discussed in detail. Evidently, there is no need for me to dwell on these matters. You probably know and feel these things better than I do.

The most pressing issue today is how to implement the evaluations and conclusions, and translate them into the language of real political actions. We must be quite clear that it is precisely on this that the entire further development of the political situation in our country depends. If we fail to restructure our economy and social system in the shortest possible time, we will not be in a position to fight for the cause of socialism; we will not prove capable of defending Bulgaria's national interests.

The high roads of restructuring that our party has marked out are already at the center of attention of our public opinion. The plenum, today's plenum, has just decided to convene the extraordinary 14th BCP Congress on 19 March 1990. [loud cheering and applause; chants of "BCP"]

## Further on Rally

*AU1312194389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] A rally convened by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] City Committee was held in Sofia's 9 September Square tonight. It was also organized by municipal party committees in Sofia, at the initiative of our colleagues from the Information Directorate of Bulgarian Television.

"United along the chosen path;" "For a sacred and pure republic;" "For socialist Bulgaria;" "Democracy means responsibility;" "Renewed, united and strong with the BCP"—these are some of the slogans raised by over 250,000 people who participated in the rally.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, spoke at the rally. The statements of actor Stefan Danailov, Olympic champion Tanya Bogomilova, of Academician Georgi Bliznakov, and of the journalists Daniela Kuneva and Georgi Tambuev were greeted with satisfaction.

Is the Bulgarian Communist Party weakened, guilty, or unpopular? This question was answered by the thousands of people attending the rally in 9 September Square. The party is strong and vital, it is capable of shaking off the mud of the recent past to lead our people to a well-deserved, good, and honest future.

## Mladenov Calls for Unity at Rally

*AU1412103589 Sofia BTA in English 2129 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Mladenov Calls for Unity at a Many Thousands Strong Rally"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—"Our party does not need a law to guarantee its leading role. It is the people that decides."

With these words the secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Petur Mladenov addressed the rally at the central "September 9" Square in Sofia. It was convened after the appeal of the Communists working at the Bulgarian Television. This appeal was joined by the Sofia town's committee of the BCP.

Tens, probably hundreds of thousands of people responded with a storm of cheering and applause to the news about the expelling of Todor Zhivkov from the BCP, which was announced by the minister of defence Dobri Dzhurov.

It is not confrontation that we need but a consolidation of all honest Bulgarians in the struggle for overcoming of the crisis, for the construction of free, democratic, law-abiding, socialist Bulgaria. This was the idea dominating in the words of the dozens of people who took the floor, among them journalist Georgi Tambuev, actor Stefan Danailov and many others. They expressed the readiness of the Communists for a sincere, responsible and constructive dialogue with all innovative forces and were greeted with cries of "unity, unity."

Petur Mladenov characterized the new course of the BCP as "the only true and salutary one for Bulgaria." He noted that the BCP rejected decisively the regime of personal power, of dictate and pointed out the great responsibility of the Communists, the need of restructuring in the party itself as soon as possible. "I call on all Communists, Agrarian Party members, members of the trade unions, the Fatherland Front, members of the informal and independent societies for unity of action in the struggle for complete revolutionary innovation of Bulgaria. The future of our fatherland depends on our unity," said Petur Mladenov.

## Lilov, Lukanov Speak at News Conference

*AU1412102789 Sofia BTA in English*
*2222 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["New Solution to Ethnical Problem Sought"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—We are willing to solve the problem in a new way, stated at a press conference today Mr Alexander Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], answering a Turkish journalist who was interested in ethnical matters. Mr Lilov said that the right solution will be sought on the basis of the present-day concept of human rights, by preserving Bulgaria's national interests. When analysing this "particularly complicated problem," the commission established by the CC of the BCP will seek the partnership of the broad public forces in the country. We cannot afford any improvisations, Mr Lilov underlined.

Asked if the dialogue with Turkey will be continued, he said, "We understand that the deterioration of Bulgaro-Turkish relations is to the interest of neither party nor to the interest of the Balkans. We want to maintain good neighbourly relations with Turkey. We are willing to continue the dialogue and will seek to extend it in order to take bilateral relations out of their present situation."

Asked whether his candidacy has really been raised along with that of Petur Mladenov for the office of secretary general, Alexander Lilov answered: "Don't be so much surprised our party has democratic traditions. The important thing is that the best choice was made. My job is good."

He and his colleague in the party leadership Andrey Lukanov were of the opinion that the most dramatic thing at the plenum which has just ended is the parting of the BCP with the policy of authoritarian socialism, as well as the expelling of Todor Zhivkov from the party. From the answers to the numerous questions concerning Todor Zhivkov it became clear that at present he lives in the vicinity of Sofia "there where he has lived a number of years" and that he is not under arrest. He does not answer to the criticism and the accusations against him not because he has been denied that right but because "hardly anyone in his place, at this exceptionally hostile attitude of the people, would face the people".

Andrey Lukanov said that every measure has been taken against the destruction or concealment of archives and documents.

Were the resolutions of the plenum of the CC of the BCP coordinated in Moscow during Petur Mladenov's visit there? Alexander Lilov said that all decisions have been taken in Sofia, independently. He pointed out that the things happening in Bulgaria are related to the events in the socialist world, but they have purely national dimensions.

The two members of the party leadership once again confirmed the readiness for dialogue with the independent organizations. Thev did not exclude the possibility for a "round table."

The chief lesson from the restructuring in the USSR and the socialist countries, according to Alexander Lilov, is that socialism awakened to its reforming as the only way for survival.

To the question whether in Bulgaria exist 1,562 millionaires, as it has been said in an article of the OBSHTESTVO I PRAVO magazine, Andrey Lukanov said that the commission headed by him for investigation of abuses, has asked the author to present his documentation but there is still no response from him.

## United Agrarians Rally for Restructuring

*AU1312195489 Sofia Domestic Service*
*in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] "Not today, but now, immediately;" "For a united Bulgarian Agrarian Union;" "Let the People's Agrarian Youth Union be restored"—these are some of the numerous slogans raised by a rally of united agararians organized by the initiative group in support of restructuring within the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS].

In his speech, Nikolay Petrini, leader of the initiative group, called upon the united agrarians for immediate democratic changes in the union in the spirit of the traditions bequeathed by Aleksandur Stamboliyski, Stanke Dimitrov, and the brothers Petko and Nikola Petkov.

Radoy Ralin, as well as agrarian leaders Paun Genov, Asen Serbinski, Dimo Vergil Dimov, Raycho Raykov, and others, spoke at the rally.

In a sharply critical tone, the speakers raised the question of the delayed renewal and acceleration in the activities of the BZNS that prevent the organization from playing its worthy role in Bulgaria's political system.

A resolution adopted at the rally demands the collective resignation of the present BZNS Permanent Board and that those who have abused their official position be held politically and legally responsible.

An appeal was launched to convene an extraordinary congress of the BZNS at the beginning of March 1990, and it was requested that the parliamentary group of united agrarians should propose the cancellation of Article 1 of the Constitution at tomorrow's National Assembly Session.

### Agrarians on Nikola Petkov Rehabilitation

*AU1312170989 Sofia BTA in English*
*1317 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Under this headline, ZMEDELSKO ZNAME today runs a letter by the initiative group of the allied agrarians in support to restructuring. It is indicated that in the future democratic, and civilized Bulgaria, committed to the rule of law, the Agrarian Party should hold a worthy place along with the other democratic parties and forces. In relation with that it is insisted that as early as at the next National Assembly session Article Number 1 of the Constitution be removed, which guaranteed the Bulgarian Communist Party's leading role in social life.

The group declares itself againts the totalitarian system, against authoritarianism, for an equal dialogue of all socio-political forces in the country.

In relation with the letter of the Secretariat of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] from November 7 this year, circulated among Communists, which reads that there have been attempts to split the Agrarian Party or to conquer it from the inside, the letter of the agrarian group indicates that this allegation is telling of the mismatching between words and deeds. The Communist Party declares itself in words about pluralism and democracy while in deeds it incites its members against those who have championed for a true pluralism and true democracy, according to the authors of the letter.

In relation with the accusations in extremism the group says: We are not extremists) we denounce violence in all its varieties) our only weapon is the true and candid speech) [paragraph notations as received]

The agrarians perceive these accusations as directed against the followers of Nikola Petkov. A different article, covering a whole page in the daily deals with the personality and work of Nikola Petkov, the leader of the opposition agrarian party.

### Legislative Commission Discusses Draft Laws

*AU1312212989 Sofia Domestic Service*
*in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] At today's session the Legislative Commission of the National Assembly discussed the Draft Law on Amnesty and the Draft Law on Technological Innovations.

The first draft law, dealing with amnesty, was approved by the National Deputies with the proposal that Paragraph 2 of Article 2 should be canceled, according to which property that was confiscated on the basis of Article 53 of the Penal Code on Property related to enforced conviction and that has not been collected prior to the adoption of the law, should not be collected.

This draft law will be submitted to tomorrow's National Assembly session for discussion. As a result of the complicated nature and difficulty of the problems involved in the second draft law dealing with technological innovations, it was decided not to submit this draft law at the forthcoming session, but that it should be further examined.

The National Assembly deputies decided to propose to the forthcoming session that the Law on Citizens Associations, Gatherings, Rallies, and Demonstrations should be adopted on principle, and following renewed examination and discussion should be submitted to the next, the 13th, National Assembly session.

Following a thorough analysis, an Amnesty Law should be proposed that should not only apply to decriminalized acts, and an amendment to the Penal Code related to the sanction of imprisonment should be adopted, the Legislative Commission decided.

### Security Chief Admits to 'Social Injustice'

*AU1312111289 Sofia BTA in English*
*1108 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Unprecedented Interview With Chief of Security Branch (UBO)"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Our aim is to work within the strict frameworks of law and not to cause the indignation of people, says General Sava Dzhendov, chief of Security Branch (UBO) at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In an unprecedented interview, run today in "NARODNA MLADEZH", the general, who became chief of UBO a month ago on the day when Todor Zhivkov was ousted, says that significant changes have taken place in the protection of the senior party and state leadership, actions and functions which led to social injustice have been removed.

Things are changing in principle, General Dzhendov says. Due to the abuses in the whole sociopolitical and economic life, the Security Branch has perhaps contributed to the increase of social injustice. As a militarized organization the branch fulfilled instructions of the then party and state leadership. The employees in the branch suffered from the way of life of some of the former leaders and mainly of the ex-secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The chief of UBO explains that the organization of the protections has changed, which are now including only senior party and state leaders and not their families. "We have given up traffic restriction completely, " he says. Until recently each travel of Todor Zhivkov around Sofia and in the country was connected with continuous bars of traffic in large areas.

General Dzhendov explained a number of concrete issues, related with the privileges of the families of the former regime and says that all issues related with property rights of citizens affected by the UBO activity will be solved. In the past the branch had been expropriating territories for building of villas, and given them free, it had been buying foreign cars for dollars and had been selling them to the families of the senior leaders for leva, etc.

The general tells details about the actions of a nurse who was a major, and who in the span of 15 years was the most confidential person of Todor Zhivkov and settled all kinds of matters related to his security and medical services. This woman was dismissed from the UBO.

General Dzhendov determines the branch's future activity as strongly specific, like everywhere else in the world, with guarantees againts the misuses of power, under the supervision of the National Assembly.

### Citizens Polled on Views of New Leadership

*AU1312200589 Sofia BTA in English*
*1027 GMT 13 Dec 89*

["Public Opinion Survey"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—36.5 per cent of Bulgarians give their categorical or hesitant support to the country's new leadership. 25 per cent of the people reserve judgement of the new leader and his team. 10.6 per cent of the people believe that "it is still too early to say."

A public opinion poll conducted by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology in the last four days of November shows that Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], and his team had received a mandate from the people or were going to receive it and that the first steps of restructuring were being seen in a positive light.

Merely 0.3 per cent of the respondents fear "anti-socialist manifestations" and 7.2 per cent fear "anarchy, riots and chaos".

The survey covered 2,191 people aged 16 to 70 in 70 towns and 69 villages and the results are representative of the entire population in the 16-70 age group.

No respondents disapprove of the changes. Public opinion reaction varies from absolute backing of the changes to a wait-and-see position.

Over one-third of the country's population support the new independent associations and clubs or are well-disposed to them. 14.3 per cent take a negative view of the independent groups, and 17.1 per cent (people over 60, mostly village dwellers) are uninformed.

Two-thirds of those polled do not have apprehensions about the changes taking place in the country. 7.8 per cent fear a "survival of Zhivkovism" and a "repeat of old mistakes", and 7.1 per cent fear the "lingering of the Nomenklatura and its swift adaptation."

### Lyudmila Zhivkova Boulevard Renamed

*AU1312142389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO*
*in Bulgarian 10 Dec 89 p 2*

[Text] At the proposal of numerous citizens and social organizations to rename the Lyudmila Zhivkova Boulevard in Sofia, the Municipal People's Council of the Mladost Municipality held a poll among the citizens living on this boulevard.

A total of 1,502 citizens out of the 1,517 residents of the boulevard supported the proposal on changing the name of the boulevard. A majority of 1,374 think that Zhivkova should be Mladost.

As a result of this, the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee accepted the proposal of the Mladost Municipality People's Council Executive Committee to rename the boulevard Mladost Boulevard.

### Patriotic Students Demonstrate in Veliko Turnovo

*AU1312182689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO*
*in Bulgarian 7 Dec 89 p 6*

[BTA report from Veliko Turnovo: "Students Procession in the Ancient Royal Capital"]

[Text] A torch-lit procession of students from Veliko Turnovo University gathered tonight, coming from the hills of Tsarevets and Sveta Gora, from the "First Socialist Rally" Park. The future historians, linguists, and teachers gathered near the monument to Mother Bulgaria in order to pay tribute to those who perished for the country's freedom and independence.

In a sincere outburst of patriotic feeling, they made emotional speeches and recalled the somewhat-forgotten text of Stefan Stambolov's song: "We do not want riches, we do not want money, all we want is freedom and justice for man..."

When the enthusiasm was at its peak, some people removed the microphones from the speaker's rostrum. This, however, did not prevent the participants from taking the floor. In contrast to the practice followed up to now, controversial opinions were freely exchanged and discussions began on problems concerning everyone.

The participants in the rally raised appeals in support of the process of real restructuring in our country, for the democratization of higher education, for the introduction of optional ideological subjects, such as: "Foundations of Religion," "Ecology," "Anthropology," and "History of Philosophy." The need to rally the healthy forces of society in building a democratic and law-governed socialist Bulgaria was emphasized.

### Introduction of New Wage System Permitted

*AU0712193689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] An announcement of the Council of Ministers has been released for publication that states as follows:

As was announced, the introduction of the new system of basic wages in the companies and other organizations was temporarily suspended from 1 December in order to instruct the competent organs to carry out a state inspection to confirm that it was being correctly applied.

It has been established that in certain places deviations and contraventions have been permitted, which are being eliminated, and the relevant organs and officials are being called to account.

In accordance with this, and taking into account the viewpoint of the Bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the government considers that the companies, their divisions, and the other organizations may continue to introduce the new system of basic wages, and accordingly cancels its decision to halt the introduction of the system.

At the same time, the leaderships of the companies and other organizations are instructed to strictly observe the regulations and conditions for introducing the new wages.

### National Assembly Deputy Proposes Private Bill

*AU1312152589 Sofia RABOTNILCHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 89 p 6*

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Legislative Initiative by a National Assembly Deputy"]

[Excerpts] The agenda of the 5 December joint session of the Legislative Commission and the Commission for Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights, with the participation of the leaderships of the other permanent National Assembly commissions, is quite a heavy one, for six draft laws will be discussed.

All these bills are important, stemming from the democratization of society. However, I must admit that one of them surprised me, not because of the need for it, but because of the manner in which it reached Parliament. I personally do not recall a similar case in recent years of a National Assembly deputy making use of his constitutional right to initiate legislation and propose that the National Assembly should discuss his draft law on a particular problem. The author of this "precedent" is Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, people's deputy for Velingrad Constituency, No. 148 [also first deputy minister of national defense]. [passage omitted]

The "nub" of the submitted bill concerns the formation of a Bureau for Evaluation of Scientific and Technological Innovations. This bureau would include practicing professional specialists and scientists distinguished for their honesty, active civic stand, and, most of all, for their high level of competence. They would be appointed by the chairman of the National Assembly on a competitive basis. It would be forbidden for the bureau to include as members persons who occupy leading or executive posts in government organs or who are, in fact, in any way dependent on the administration. [passage omitted]

### Labor Dispute in Emergency Ward Noted

*AU0812113289 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Dec p 6*

[Report by Zhechka Danailova and Angel Andreevski: "Labor Dispute in 'Emergency Ward'"]

[Excerpt] Improving wages, making them equal to the wages of city transportation drivers, a 6-hour labor day, improving working conditions, updating technical equipment, cutting the administrative-management personnel by half, better coordination with the polyclinics, and so forth—those are the demands of the drivers from Sofia's "Emergency Ward" Station, who are expected to arrive at the speed of light in cases of emergency. If their demands are not satisfied...they would stop working within several months. This is what they declared at their meeting on 5 December, which was attended by Milyu Milev, deputy minister of public health and social welfare.

We do not know whether there is such a precedent in the world. It is an open secret that the cars of the "Emergency Ward" arrive with a great delay after car accidents, when the casualties have already been transported by private cars. In many cases this aggravated the injuries. The "Emergency Ward" drivers are not faster when called to a private address. Only yesterday, [5 December], for example, they responded to all calls with delays of 1, 2, and even 3 hours. Most of their claims are well-founded and do not represent anything new to the leadership of the "Emergency Ward" Station or the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare. However, the claims have not been resolved throughout the years, and the people are fed up. [passage omitted]

### Workers' Alientation From Property Viewed

*AU0712144389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Barukh Shamliev: "Property: Ours, Mine, or No One's?"]

[Excerpts] So many questions are raised in connection with property as the core of socialist production relations. If the property belongs to no one, whose is it then? If all the members of our society are the owners of the socialist property, how then does this attitude of indifference arise toward the wanton encroachments on this property? [passage omitted]

Socialist property, or more precisely national property, is the economic foundation of socialism. The profound alienation and apathy that we encounter today has arisen because we placed an equals sign between state and national property. These two concepts are not synonyms. State property is not an attribute of socialism. In fact, this concept is also known to capitalism—in Austria over 25 percent of property is owned by the state.

State property in Bulgaria has never been managed by the people. Its management was a privilege of the government departments that control this property in the name of the state.

Property is a means of appropriation. Under capitalism the bourgeoisie organizes production, but also appropriates the newly created added value. Under socialism, the place of the aggregate capitalist as the organizer of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption is assumed by the socialist state which, however, also appropriates the newly created product. It is true that through its social policy the socialist state returns part of the value- added product to the workers. However, this does not remove the fact that the value-added product belongs to the state, not to the people who created it, namely the workers. [passage omitted]

The unpopular nature of the administrative system has its roots in the fact that it is a personification of state ownership, of the command system of management, and of planning by directive. The state, for example, in the form of the former Ministry of Planning and Economy, determined at the point of entry into the enterprises and companies what production plans should be made, the volume and range of products, the labor productivity, resources and investments, wages, profits, and the regulations for its appropriation by the government department. At the point of exit, the same ministry determined what should be sold to which consumers. Where is any room left for people's initiative, self-management, and popular power, if these are not mere mockeries of words? The main shortcoming of the administrative system was its totalitarian aspiration to plan, regulate, fund, and limit everything in time and space. This caused the interests of working people and their desire to work with total dedication to wither away. I will give one example. The draft plan for 1990, which was distributed for the companies to state their views, provided for the appropriation of 94 percent of the profits of one of the large associations, namely the Electronics Association, which left only 6 percent available for fulfilling social tasks, research and development, advertising, and so forth.

One fault of the administrative system that it can never atone for is that by its procedures it not only restricts the individual's appropriation of the national income, but also kills personal and collective interest. It was not by chance that Marx warned that any idea becomes discredited when it is divorced from interest. This truth was forgotten, and the manifestation of this "sclerosis" led to the situation that the share of the Wages Fund in Bulgaria's national income is about 40 percent, whereas in most of the countries in Europe it is 60-70 percent! [passage omitted]

At the July 1987 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] many true words were said about state and communal property. The need for different forms of ownership, existing with equal rights, was recognized. All these words remained mere declarations—not one iota of progress took place in legal, taxation, or any other protection. Paradoxically, there was not only no decrease in state ownership, but the state even strengthened its positions. Judge for yourself! The proportion of state ownership in the national economy has been retained and even slightly increased. Whereas in 1985 it amounted to 99.1 percent, in 1988 it rose to 99.2 percent, while the share of cooperative property fell to 0.8 percent. Despite the "Arguments Concerning the Further Development of the Cooperative Movement..." published on 3 April 1987, the furious onslaught to nationalize cooperative property continued (especially after the companies made their appearance), and discrimination continued against cooperative property, mostly through the allocation of supplies of materials and equipment, which met only 50 percent of the planned needs. As a result, the relative position of the cooperatives in the national economy remained practically the same as it was before the "Arguments..." appeared.

One can also point out a further example of the meanderings of the Zhivkov line regarding property. In the space of a single month—in June and July 1987—the National Assembly voted through two declarations that announced the transfer of socialist property to the socialist enterprises and the municipalities. However, this process was not allowed to come to maturity, in order to demonstrate its advantages and shortcomings. At the BCP Central Committee plenum of 14 December 1987, Todor Zhivkov delivered a report "Concerning the Further Practical Implementation of the July Strategy in Restructuring Our Society." The title failed to reveal that Zhivkov proposed in this document to carry out a radical change in the previous strategic course, by announcing "a new model for socialism" founded on the company-based organization. It is striking that neither Zhivkov nor anyone else thought it necessary in their speeches to explain why one of the most important premises of the July plenum, namely the handover of property to be administered by the labor collectives and municipalities, was being abandoned. This was the very epitome of contempt of the law, because a BCP Central Committee plenum cannot repeal declarations of the National Assembly that possess definite legislative force. Scarcely 3 months later, Stoyan Ovcharov, then member of the Politburo of BCP Central Committee and minister of planning and economy, made his famous "clarification" (in his interview to RABOTNICHESKO DELO published on 20 March 1989). "In his report to the December 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee," Ovcharov stressed, "Comrade Todor Zhivkov explained the reasons for the need to take the next step in the practical realization of the July Concept in the field of the national economy. The aspiration to eliminate everything that is an agent of the command-administrative methods of management, and the need to give free rein to the people's interests are the main reasons for the changeover to the company-based organization."

Everything is possible on paper! Confiscation of property and of the direct producers' right to manage it, and its handover to the companies; the start of the introduction of economic democracy with the elections of leaders of the collectives at the enterprises, which had already taken place, was "easily corrected," by ruling that the elected leaders had to have the approval of the administrative councils of the companies; and the promised opportunity for the enterprises' collectives to appropriate part of the value-added product they themselves produce was forgotten. This right was given to the companies, and a stop was put to the independence and self-management of the enterprises, as well as to their possibilities to take decisions concerning drafting of the plan, negotiating contracts for finished products, allocating profits, and setting wages—all these and other restrictions, which returned us to the times of absolutism in management of the economy, were represented as "the next step in the political realization of the July Concept," as "an aspiration to give free reign to the people's interests." [passage omitted]

In May 1989, a BCP Central Committee plenum was held on agrarian policy. In his report, Todor Zhivkov stated that now "our agriculture faces the need of being restructured on the basis of the principle of the company-based organization." By this method, in place of the changes in economic relations imposed by order, encouragement of the cooperative movement, and mass distribution of leasehold rights, the company-based organization, which has had no traditions whatsoever in our rural life, was proposed as an antidote.

The 10 November 1989 BCP Central Committee Plenum marked the start and aroused the hope of long-awaited changes in the economy and in the entire atmosphere in the party, the country, and the state. The truth is increasingly being realized that neither state, nor cooperative, nor company ownership are capable by themselves of reviving the economy. They cannot impart to it a qualitatively new rate of acceleration unless the economic relationships of the workers toward socialist property are changed, so that they become real owner-managers of the means of production.

Man the worker must at least be changed from an element of the forces of production into an active agent of production relations. Then the national property will become mine, it will be ours, and the absurd idea of "no man's property" will disappear into oblivion for ever. A modern, democratic, and law-governed socialist Bulgaria will rise up on the basis of this nationwide property.

## Mladenov Meets Party Veterans, Partisans

*AU0712135989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 2*

[Boyko Vutov and Petur Punchev report: "Time, Efforts, and Unity Are Required" on Petur Mladenov's meeting with party veterans and active fighters against fascism and capitalism in Sofia on 30 November]

[Excerpts] The sight of the conference hall in the building of the Central Committee of Active Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism was familiar at first glance: The hall was crowded, the television cameras and reporters' microphones were directed at the Presidium....However, the familiar sight was only apparent. The difference between this kind of meeting in the past and the present one was that instead of a passive audience, insincere pledges, and slogans about "unanimous support," we witnessed heated debates in the name of a common goal.

Comrade Petur Mladenov's meeting with active fighters against fascism and capitalism from all over the country—who embody the party's living memories of long, heroic struggles for the people's freedom—began with his own appeal for honest and sincere statements, because the party values nothing more than truth. [passage omitted].

Veteran Vasil Ivanov proposed that Todor Zhivkov be removed from the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee at the forthcoming Central Committee Plenum, while he and Milko Balev also be expelled from the party. Numerous compromised people are still part of the present leadership. They should be removed and young people should be given a chance. The veterans also expressed justified criticism at the fact that not even one member of the leading team has come out with self-criticism.

Many of the following proposals submitted at the meeting are well known, they are the wish of all BCP members and nonparty people:

—The 14th BCP Congress should be convened as soon as possible;

—The whole truth about the period under the rule of Todor Zhivkov and his entourage should be investigated;

—Inner-party democracy should be restored;

—There should be an investigation into the illegally appropriated and wasted resources belonging to the people and they should be returned, and legal action should taken against those responsible for such misappropriations;

—The process of restoring the rights of the comrades who suffered in one way or another under these conditions should be accelerated;

—There should be resistance to the rising conservative forces that are trying to slander everything accomplished as a result of the 9 September 1944 victory and to discredit the party as a whole;

—National Assembly elections should be held ahead of schedule;

—Talented and loyal, young people should be promoted to leading posts. [passage omitted]

Comrade Petur Mladenov, in his unprepared statement, expressed gratitude for the support of all speakers. [passage omitted] He pointed out that the 10 November Plenum was an objectively justified event, considering the country's complicated situation, the party's crisis of confidence, and its insufficient activity, the passivity of the Komsomol, the Fatherland Front, and the trade unions. Answering a question, Petur Mladenov pointed out: "I would like to stress that there was no coup, and no conspiracy. We applied only methods admitted by our party statute and party ethics. Nevertheless, there was a struggle, a merciless, political struggle...." [passage omitted]

Comrade Mladenov described the requests voiced by the majority of speakers that all party members responsible for the present situation—from the low-echelon organizations to the Politburo—should be held personally responsible. "I realize that I also share part of this responsibility," he said. [passage omitted]

Comrade Petur Mladenov promised the audience that all their proposals, including the proposal to convene an extraordinary BCP Congress, would be carefully and thoroughly studied. He confirmed the requirement to restore the rights of all Communists who were subjected to unjustified treatment over the last decades.

## Glasnost Club Leader Zhelev Notes Position

*AU0712133089 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 pp 1,3*

[Interview with Zhelyo Zhelev, chairman of the Operative Bureau of the Club in Support of Restructuring and Glasnost, by Ivan Undzhiev, NARODNA ARMIYA reporter; date and place not given—"Socialism Or What?"]

[Excerpts] The name of Zhelyo Zhelev became popular after the developments that surrounded the publication of his book "Fascism." A philosopher and sociologist, today he actively participates in the activity of the informal organizations. At present he is chairman of the Operative Bureau of the Club in Support of Restructuring and Glasnost, which last week had its first organizational meeting. This was the reason that a representative of our Editorial Board met and talked with him.

[Undzhiev] What evoked your interest in researching fascism?

[Zhelev] My interest in totalitarianism emerged in a completely natural manner. Fate predetermined that I should strongly clash with that system. As a regular graduate student of philosophy from 1961 to 1965 I prepared a dissertation on the subject "The Philosophical Determination of the Matter." In the dissertation, I criticized Lenin's definition of the matter, which used to be an absolute dogma in Marxist philosophy, and was considered a central concept of the philosophical system of dialectical materialism. When I rejected Lenin's definition, and I think that I proved my point with factual and logical arguments, repressions against me began. I was expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Twice I was forcefully removed by the militia from Sofia. I was not even allowed to read in the university library. Naturally, this was one of the political or sociopsychological factors that prompted me to understand in a more profound manner the society in which we are living. Gradually, I reached several radical conclusions. LITERATUREN FRONT commissioned an article—"The Nazi Regime"—that I wrote, but it was never published. This article preceded my decision to write a book about fascism as a totalitarian regime. This also was the book's original title—The Totalitarian State." I used the numerous documents of the Nuerenberg Trial. I was stunned by the mirror-like similarity between the fascist rgime and our regime. I decided that there is no point in suggesting things, and that I should merely restore the structure without cheap illusions. This was a way of telling the truth about our society. [passage omitted]

[Undzhiev] It appears that the very idea of socialism cannot be implemented?

[Zhelev] Practically, yes. The concept of socialism, not as a new manner of production but as a policy of social justice is the only essential and meaningful thing. It exists in Sweden and the FRG, but it is based on capitalism. [passage omitted]

[Undzhiev] Does not your opinion contradict your membership in the BCP?

[Zhelev] First of all, I am not a BCP member. I was expelled in 1965. However, even if I were a member, this should not prevent me from thinking in the way I do. The very idea of constructing the communist society is a utopia. [passage omitted]

[Undzhiev] You are against demagogy. However, the club's name suggests that it supports restructuring that began and is implemented by the BCP. Are you not thus misleading the members, who perhaps are not aware of its real goals?

[Zhelev] Initially, our club was really established with the purpose of supporting the development of glasnost and restructuring in our country. In the meantime, things developed with an unexpected speed, and thus we find ourselves in a new situation. It is precisely this that requires us to change the club's name. The leadership proposed the name Club for Glasnost and Democracy, which is in line with the new tasks of the club. Glasnost is still a problem in our country, because there is no glasnost. And democracy merely is a goal. Since we do not want to be demagogues and mislead the members, we shall insist upon including in the club's name concepts that precisely reflect its goals, aspirations, and program.

Editorial note: The publication of this article may appear unusual, because of the character of the considerations, which long were absent from the pages of the Bulgarian press. However, now we are at a moment, at which everyone must determine and clarify his position and views. We think that this is mandatory, especially for people who call for democracy and change from various tribunes and rostrums, and at various meetings and gatherings, and for some reasons, do not fully express their views. Therefore, it is necessary to know what precisely they want to change, and how they would do it. Thus, one day people would not be able to claim that they have not understood, or have been misled.

### Government Decrees Published in State Gazette

*AU0812144289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 2*

[Text] The following more important acts are published in Issue No. 94 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Decree No. 2,688 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 30 November 1989, by which Todor Ivanov Kyurkchiev is relieved from the post of deputy minister of transportation.

—Council of Ministers Decree No. 54 of 22 November 1989 concerning the economic activity of scientific and technical associations, the Architects Union in Bulgaria, and the Scientific Workers Union in Bulgaria. It is recommended that from 1 January 1990 these three organizations should bring their economic activity onto a self-maintaining basis, keeping separate balance sheets in accordance with the Decree on Economic Activity. The organizations are relieved from paying into the budget profits tax, tax on the wages fund, and contributions to the people's councils from their economic activity, the calculated amounts being specially contributed to the relevant union (or federation) for improving their material base and carrying out certain activities and functions as defined in their statutes. Council of Ministers Decree No. 77 of 1980 is repealed from 1 January 1990, as well as the order issued by this decree on the specific regulations for applying the economic approach in engineering applications activities carried out by the Scientific and Technical Unions, the Architects Union in Bulgaria, and the Scientific Workers Union in Bulgaria. Agreements concluded prior to the publication of this decree are to be fulfilled under the terms of the repealed order even after 1 January 1990.

—Council of Ministers Decision No. 179 of 23 November 1989 on repealing Council of Ministers Decision No. 171 of 1989. The decision that is now repealed transferred without compensation the Instruments, Electronics, and Nonstandard Equipment Works in Shumen from the INKOMS [expansion unknown] Company of Sofia to the Madara Company in Shumen.

—The Bulgarian National Bank has published a bulletin of foreign currency exchange rates against the lev that came into force beginning 1 December 1989.

### Mladenov Congratulates New BZNS Leader

*AU0912222589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 89 p 1*

[Congratulatory note from Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, to Comrade Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]:

Esteemed Comrade Dimitrov, on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and on my own behalf, I congratulate you on your election to the post of BZNS secretary. I wish you vigorous health and great successes in your work while in this highly responsible post.

The relations between the BCP and the BZNS are based on profound historical roots. They were sealed by the blood of the victims jointly sacrificed in our two parties' common struggles against fascism, for democracy, and for social progress. These relations strengthened and were even more intensified over the years of socialist construction.

We are convinced that we will proceed side by side along the path of renewal and will cooperate in establishing a humanitarian, law-governed, and democratic state and that we will further develop our cooperation for the Bulgarian people's sake and for their benefit.

Signed: Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

### Writers Demand Elections, End to Censorship

*AU0712140589 Sofia BTA in English 1307 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—"We expect a date to be set for free early elections within a revised electoral system," says the first item of a writers' address to the president of the State Council, the chairmen of the National Assembly and of the Council of Ministers and to the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The address has been signed by 107 members of the Union of Bulgarian Writers (total membership: nearly 400) and appears in today's LITERATUREN FRONT, complete with a note saying that there were more who wanted to sign it when the newspaper went to the printing machines.

The introduction says that the dynamic progress of restructuring in this country since November 10 inspires hope of the future but the scope of reform should steadily expand. The writers note that the civilised world is prepared to accept Bulgaria as "throwing off the burden of totalitarianism" and recall that any delay of restructuring would disappoint both the Bulgarian people and the international community. This is how the Bulgarian writers motivate their 12 suggestions. The first one calls for free early elections, as the National Assembly has been reduced to a tool of authoritarianism.

An expulsion from the CC of the BCP of "many people closely associated with the personality of Todor Zhivkov" is pointed as a condition for the country's democratic development.

The writers want the elimination of the nomenklatura, described as a "linchpin and a principle of the command-and-administer system." They hope that the activities of the Dimitrov Young Communist League should be reviewed.

According to the address, the identification of the party with the state reduces the chances of locating the people possessing the now rare accomplishments required for all levels of authority: wide-ranging knowledge, professionalism, and democracy. It is emphasized that the principal criteria in selecting high-level personnel have been party membership, ideological loyalty and obedience.

The writers demand the abolition of any state-practised censorship and point to the need of a press law which will demonopolize the mass media. Media and cultural institution employees should be free to elect their bosses. "We need periodicals like the LITERARY GAZETTE and TV programmes like the Soviet Television's VZGLYAD," the writers believe.

The writers want a radical economic reform, free enterprise, a return of the land to the peasants and a market economy. They expect that information on the condition of the environment should be fully and steadily available and that the fate of major projects should be decided by referendums.

Bulgarian laws should be immediately brought into line with the international human rights instruments. "We call for the abolition of all privileges. The authorities have to prove that they take a different view of public initiatives by registering the independent associations and by guaranteeing their legitimate rights to own property and to have printed organs," says the Bulgarian writers' address to the heads of the State Council, the National Assembly, the government and to the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

### Communist Deputies Support Popular Ballot

*AU1312152789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 89 p 1*

["(NIG)" and "(NN)"-signed report: "Election of the President by a Popular Ballot"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondents)—The CSSR Federal Assembly Club of Communist Deputies held a meeting in Prague on Monday [11 December]. Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, also participated in its proceedings. The Club decided to recommend to the CSSR Federal Assembly that the election of the president should be carried out by popular referendum so that the people of this Republic decide who will become head of state.

For this purpose, it will be necessary to amend Constitutional Law No. 143/68 on the Czechoslovak federation.

The Communist deputies adopted a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium proposal to recall the Club's leadership and elect a new one. It has 17 members and is headed by three deputies: Dobromila Vavrova, a weaver from Veba Broumov; Frantisek Axman, chairman of United Agricultural Cooperative Stepanov; and Josef Kryll, a locksmith at the CKD Wilhelm Piecka Enterprise in Prague.

The deputies also expressed their views on the necessity of reconstructing the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium, the leadership of both chambers, and some committees. They agreed on nominations for candidates to these bodies from the ranks of deputy-Communists, suggestions which will be submitted to the chambers at their Tuesday [12 December] session. The Communist deputies also considered possible candidates for the chairmanship of the CSSR Federal Assembly and agreed on a common course of action.

### Further on Presidential Election Discussions

#### Agreed by 'End of January'

*LD1412090189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] During roundtable discussions, Civic Forum representatives agreed with representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and other political parties that the new president of Czechoslovakia will be elected by the end of January next year by the Federal Assembly.

As the U.S. agency AP reports, a specific agreement on who should become president was not reached. The only thing agreed was that this will be a person of Czech nationality who is not a member of any political party.

#### Further on Agreement

*LD1412101189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Talks between representatives of decisive political forces in our country ended today in the early hours in the Valdstejn Palace in Prague. They evaluated some questions connected with the election of a new president.

Taking part in the talks were: a delegation empowered by Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, delegations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, of Civic Forum, of the Public Against Violence, and the Striking Students.

After complicated and long talks the participants arrived at an agreement on these conclusions:

The method of consultations between decisive political forces which was tried and tested when forming the Federal Government must also be used when solving the question of the election of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

With regard to the present post of premier of the Federal Government [currently held by a Slovak] those present are of the opinion that the president of Czechoslovakia should be a citizen of the Czech Socialist Republic without political affiliation.

The deadline of 14 days for carrying out the election of the president, which is set by the law on the Czechoslovak Federation, appears to be too short with regard to the need for further consultation between political forces, and it is desirable that it is extended by adopting the relevant constitutional law.

The representatives taking part are in agreement on the vital need for the reconstruction of the membership of the Federal Assembly to ensure that those who do not provide a guarantee for the begining of development of political democracy leave it, and so that the numbers in the highest organ of state power are made up of those citizens who are representatives of current political streams. This should considerably help to ensure that the legislative body can fulfill its role under the present complicated situation.

Talks between representatives of political parties about this reconstruction will begin immediately.

They discussed further the issue of the way of electing the president of the CSSR. They noted in particular the enormous complications and risks which would be connected with the introduction of direct election of the president by citizens, and that so far all the political forces whose representatives took part in the talks have proceeded from the existing constitutional system of the parliamentary Republic that was introduced in our country in principle by the Constitution of 1920. All

Czechoslovak presidents were also elected on the basis of this constitutional arrangement.

The political forces so far have aimed at dealing with the political crisis in keeping with the valid constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation. To introduce a direct election of the president would mean to disrupt the constitutional-legal relations of the highest bodies of the state, and would mean a step toward changing the entire system to a Republic of a presidential type. It would also create problems that would be almost impossible to solve in state-legislative relations of the Czech and Slovak nations that, according to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, exclude the imposing of the will of one nation on the other. The preparation and implementation of direct elections would be very demanding in the legislative and technical sense, and at least 3 months would be needed for it. It was noted by the participating representatives that the president of Czechoslovakia should now be elected only for the period until the Federal Assembly comes to power as a result of free and democratic elections.

In conclusion, all present expressed hope that these talks will also be a guarantee of democratic development of Czechoslovak society in the future.

### CPCZ Spokesman on Talk Results

*LD1412115289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Because some foreign press agencies have been interpreting the information about the roundtable talks inaccurately, particularly with regard to the date and method of electing the president of the Republic, Josef Hora, press spokesman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium, asked us to broadcast the following statement:

[Begin Hora recording] The full text of the joint communique which was agreed upon by the all participating parties, the representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Civic Forum, the Public Against Violence, the Socialist Youth Union, the CPCZ, the Students' Strike Committee, and the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR has been made public.

Clearly, no specific dates, or way of electing a president, were agreed upon.

The representatives of the CPCZ Central Committee at the talks in the Valdstejn Palace are aware, in the spirit of the adopted communique, of the complications of direct elections of a head of state. At the same time, they said at these talks that they had not been empowered to adopt a policy-making [zasadni] standpoint on this issue on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, and that the final standpoint of the party can be given only by the extraordinary congress of the CPCZ.

As follows from the communique, no final political agreement of all participating parties on the method of electing a president was concluded.

With regard to the date of the elections, the majority of the participants in the roundtable talks, including the representatives of the CPCZ, endorsed an opinion that it was necessary to prolong the constitutional deadline for electing a President from 14 to approximately 45 days. [end recording]

### Daily Calls for 'Respect' for Candidates

*LD1412111589 Prague CTK in English 1006 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—"The best way is to negotiate together at first and agree on the basic: to mutually respect candidates for the post of president regardless of the fact which political party or civic initiative put them forward. Deciding the way of the election is exclusively within the competence of the Federal Assembly," RUDE PRAVO said today.

It mentioned the stand of Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member Vasil Mohorita on the Civic Forum and the Public Against Viloence. He confirmed that "these organizations have a sense for political reality and political game in the framework of generally recognized rules. [no closing quotation marks as received]

The paper stressed that the same applies to Vaclav Havel, whose political intellect cannot be denied but "around him there are also others who do a disservice to Vaclav Havel's humanist and democratic ideals. They do not show enough respect for other political forces. It is the affair of the Federal Assembly whether the president will be elected by a referendum or in a different way, whether time limited for this form of direct democracy will be enough or whether it should be prolonged, whether such an act can be technically carried out in a relatively short time."

The paper rejected the opinion expressed by the Civic Forum at a press conference on Tuesday [12 December] that a referendum would split society. "Why those fears?...the Civic Forum wants, as it was said at the press conference, that all political forces function democratically in our country and that deputies take actions according to the will of the people...if Vaclav Havel is almost unanimously supported by the whole Czechoslovak public, as the Polish Paper GAZETA WYBORCZA said, there is nothing to be feared. A different thing is how to react to the proposal of the parliamentary Czechoslovak Communist Party Club," the daily stressed.

## Further Reportage on Federal Assembly Session

### Deputy Simuth on By-Elections

*LD1212184489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Statement by Deputy Simuth at Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] Esteemed deputies, esteemed guests: On behalf of the club of deputies for the Democratic Party, previously the Slovak Revival Party, we wish to emphasize that we are all aware of the exceptional seriousness of the political situation in Czechoslovakia, and the fact that we, the deputies, were elected in undemocratic elections. Our organ is irreplaceable, however, for the correct functioning of the state until the new elections.

We, therefore, propose that the date of by-elections for the Federal Assembly should be set now, and that deputies for the Communist Party should vacate a number of deputies' mandates to the Federal Assembly so that they are not in a majority of more than one-half. By-elections would secure such a composition of deputies that would reflect the present political situation in our country. Thank you for your attention. [applause] [passage omitted]

### Deputy Questions Army Intervention

*LD1212215689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1739 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Statement by Deputy Loebl at Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr chairman, esteemed colleagues, comrades:

At the outset, on behalf of the deputies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, I wish to express full support for the most fundamental function of the Czechoslovak People's Army which we see in the defense of our homeland.

Already at the last parliamentary session I put a question to Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense. I asked him about the possibility of military interference taking place. The answer from the minister was, fundamentally, negative.

I divide the response of the population to my question, which I put on 29 November—including from my voters in Prague 10—into three groups. The first welcomed the fact that the question had been raised at all, and that from some symptoms it had been concluded that something had been happening in this or that town, which had been regarded by laymen, noncombatants, but nonetheless citizens of this country, as abnormal, for instance by (?people) from the East Bohemian Region.

The second group believed that General Vaclavik did not answer the question as it was put to him at all. Finally, the third group were of the opinion that, although he had delivered a prefabricated statement people at least found out what he had said at the Club of Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] deputies.

Today, esteemed colleagues, we have received a shorthand record of that last meeting of ours. I studied it, and on page 40 General Vaclavik said, and I quote: We identify ourselves, above all, with those who think well of socialism and who are not misusing emotions to exert pressure to distabilize the political and economic situation in our society. We also realize, comrade Vaclavik says, that our Army, and above all our party, is not on the offensive.

I ask, and this is my first question to the minister of national defense, what he thinks about this statement; against whom should the Army be on the offensive? The fact is that this is connected with my question of 29 November of this year.

General Vaclavik then goes on to declare, and I quote: I would like to say that we, soldiers, are resolutely behind the speech made by the general secretary of the central committee of our party and regard it as a realistic platform. This platform is backed firmly by our entire party organization, commanders, political organs, members of our staffs, units, and formations. The second question: to whom is the Czechoslovak Army in fact subordinated, to the CPCZ, to the government, to parliament, or to someone else? Thank you.

### Minister Vacek on People's Army Role

*LD1212223189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1739 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Response by Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek to question by Deputy Loebl at 12 December National Assembly session—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman, esteemed deputies, esteemed guests: I would like to reply to the question raised by Deputy Loebl.

I am Miroslav Vacek and allow me, Mr Chairman, esteemed deputies, and esteemed guests, to add that I am the minister entrusted with the charge of the Federal Ministry of National Defense. I have been in this post since 3 December, but I also feel fully responsible for what happened in the Czechoslovak People's Army before my appointment to this post, because I was the chief of the general staff and first deputy minister of national defense.

I am not, comrades—pardon me, esteemed deputies—a lawyer, but I believe that I am knowledgeable enough about the laws of this republic, which I have to know to manage the Federal Ministry of National Defense. I am not quite sure that I have to answer the question put forward by Deputy Loebl for my predecessor, Minister Vaclavik. I can hardly be held responsible for what he declared as a deputy and as a minister in the Federal

Assembly. Since I have honourable intentions I shall answer the questions raised twice already by Deputy Loebl.

As far as I remember, as Deputy Loebl has also recalled, the main substance of his question was whether or not there exists in the Czechoslovak People's Army a group of ambitious generals or colonels who might form a junta and act against this government. I cannot, esteemed deputies, put forward any additional or better proof than the fact that the Czechoslovak People's Army has up to now done nothing that Deputy Loebl anticipates. [applause] I believe, but I could be mistaken here, that the aim is not to prove what has not happened, but rather that I should be held accountable for the bad things, as the case may be, that may have happened in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

In regard to the second question, that is to whom the Czechoslovak People's Army is subordinated, I reply that from the very inception of the Czechoslovak Republic, despite those 41 years that have been recalled of late, it has always been subordinated in accordance with the constitution, above all, to the president of the republic and the president of the republic has been the commander in chief. In addition, it is also subordinated, in certain instances, to the government.

I assure you, including those who have not raised the question, esteemed deputies, that the Czechoslovak People's Army will not be misused against the process which is taking place in our Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [applause]

### Loebl, Vacek Discuss Army CPCZ Links

*LD1212235589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1739 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Statements by Deputy Loebl and Defense Minister Vacek at Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] [Loebl] Esteemed Mr Chairman, esteemed colleagues: I would like to thank Minister of National Defense General Vacek for providing a more clear answer than we heard here a fortnight ago from his predecessor. I am not quite sure whether the minister of national defense has correctly understood me. The fact is that people have recently been worried of late about the considerably close links between our Army and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. These links have, in great probability, not ended with the abolition of the leading role of the CPCZ in the Constitution.

Yes, the military oath has been changed. The activity of political directorates has perhaps been curbed, but many internal and external manifestations indicate that there is a lack of clarity in these questions to say the least.

It would be a good thing, and this is not my question comrade minister but rather a request, if the minister of national defense told the CSSR Federal Assembly how many there are—and I have in mind percentages and not absolute figures—to be understood well, active officers from non-communist parties and from those without political affiliation in the Czechoslovak People's Army and whether this state corresponds to the idea of the government of national accord. I do not ask for these figures, these percentages, immediately for it will take some time. I have the impression, however, that the CSSR Federal Assembly has the right to know these percentages. Thank you. [applause]

[Vacek] The Czechoslovak People's Army has been directed for the past 41 years under the leading role of the CPCZ, which is surely known to each of the deputies present. One unnecessary word or sentence for you [word indistinct].

The Czechoslovak People's Army has demonstratively acheived results during those 41 years. The results arouse respect not only from our allies but also from some NATO states who have been coming to this country during the past few years to observe our exercises. I believe, therefore, that the Czechoslovak People's Army has, throughout the time, prepared to discharge its task of defending the independence and sovereignty of this country.

There was the year 1968. That was a year for which the Czechoslovak People's Army could be subjected to criticism. I, who was at that time a captain and active officer, assert both from the previous viewpoint, as well from the present one, that apart from what the Czechoslovak People's Army did—that is, that it maintained strict discipline and organization in the spirit of its commander in chief the then president of the republic, Army General Svoboda, it also had a second possibility—that is, to unleash either a civil war or to put up resistance in another way at the price which we all surely can imagine, at least theoretically.

The Czechoslovak People's Army has recently won respect—as I have documented to the Federal Assembly several times as a deputy—for its constribution to what is happening, for instance at the talks in Vienna. All these matters are totally demonstrable.

The answer to the specific question raised by Deputy Loebl: It is quite logical that since the Czechoslovak People's Army has been operating for the past 41 years in a certain system, the number of party members corresponds to this. Out of professional soldiers 82 percent are organized in the CPCZ, of noncommissioned officers 55 percent and national servicemen 5 percent. Thank you.

### Approves Penal Code Amendments

*LD1312202389 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—The Federal Assembly approved here today submitted proposals concerning amendments to the penal law, law on misdemeanours and the penal order.

The amendments were justified by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky. With regard to the social movement of the past weeks the Czechoslovak Government (headed by former Premier Adamec) decided to submit the amendments only in minimum extent which would not cause doubts of any of the political forces.

The limited draft amendment to the penal law leaves out the provision reducing the freedom of religion (Paragraphs 101. 178 and 211). Paragraphs concerning the leaving or penetration of the territory of the republic will be amended. Only the crossing of the borders with the use of force or threat of force will be punishable.

The new legal regulation abolishes the legitimate measure of the Federal Assembly Presidium of this February which increased sanctions for participation in rallies. The measure was declared as a response of the then political leadership to peaceful demonstrations of Czechoslovak citizens in the centre of Prague in January.

Following an agreement with the General Prosecutor's Office the Government of Czechoslovakia declares that an act with some attributes of a criminal offence or misdemeanour committed by a person in the interest of exercising his basic civil rights guaranteed by the constituiton (e.g. the freedom of assembly and association) will be classified neither as criminal offence nor as misdemeanour for the lack of social dangerousness.

### Assembly Bills Detailed

*LD1312224189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Jana Havingerova and Barbora Doleckova report on the progress of the Federal Assembly sessions:

The result of the talks: Altogether four approved bills concerning the economy, three amendments to the bills concerning criminal law, and an amendment to the bill on special miners' bonus correspond to the statement of Minister Klaus.

Let us first have a look at the economy. The deputies have not been submitted a draft state budget of the federation as it had originally been compiled because the Federal Assembly has so far approved only a so-called budgetary makeshift arrangement for the 1st quarter of 1990 about which Federal Minister Vaclav Klaus talked. He said, among other things:

[Begin Klaus recording] The policy being proposed ensues from these main reasons: First, the social and political situation in our country has changed quite radically in comparison with the time in which the government-sponsored bill on the state budget was being drafted. The state budget cannot but react to this situation.

Second, the economic situation in our country which is characterized, in particular, by deep imbalance in a number of spheres of the economy, requires that the state budget be conceived of as anti-inflationary, as a budget which has to take into account the needs for a radical economic reform for whose implementation we must take resolute steps in 1990. The original draft bill which included the budgetary deficit and which was internally connected with a half-hearted approach toward the economic reform, is completely unacceptable from these points of view.

Third, the reason for postponing the discussion on the bill on the state budget and for introducing budgetary makeshift arrangement is also the need to harmonize the budget with the program statement which the government wants to submit to the Federal Assembly in the near future. It is our aim to speed up the transition to rationally functioning market economy and thus gradually lead the economy out of the state of imbalance on the basic markets. Adjusted to this must be not only the economic environment in which enterprises exist, but also the entire system of economic management from the level of the economic center. It is a broad complex of questions to which the government will soon adopt its viewpoint.

A characteristic feature of the new understanding of the role of the state budget in the economy, which the government wants to strive for, will be a transition from the protection of partial interests of the individual enterprises—that is producers—to the protection of the interests of the society as a whole—that is consumers.

It is from this point of view that the following principles in particular come to the forefront: the principle of anti-inflationary effect of the state budget whose consistent implementation must markedly influence the processes of restoration of balance of the Czechoslovak economy. It is a principle of gradual, relative, and absolute reduction of the overall volume of expenditure, and thus also income, of the state budget, as an expression of the reduction of the influence of the state in the economy. Implementation of both these principles requires, among other things, to more markedly reduce the overall volume of subsidies from the state budget. It is in this direction that we will orientate our policy. One can say on a preliminary basis that this reduction must concern both the expenditure on defense and security and other non-productive expenditure on state administration and social organizations, as well as some expenditure on social consumption of the popular and, in particular, the entire spectrum of investment and non-investment subsidies granted to enterprises.

If we stress that the new government wants to immediately implement hard-hitting measures to restore the balance in the economy, we are aware of the fact that the most dramatic situation is in particular on the investment market and on the market of intermediate products, that is, in the sphere of stocks. The new rules of financial economy of enterprises, together with a new tax bill, considerably free the independence of enterprises in the sphere of financial economy, as well as their overall entrepreneurial activity. This fact, in the conditions of soft prices, not objectively related to the market, with non-existent competition environment and in the conditions of monopoly structure of the market, can further deepen the trends of imbalance. If this is not to take place one has to implement, within the framework of a new state budget, hard, restrictive financial policy, particularly markedly to limit investment and non-investment subsidies. Hard financial policy must, at the same time, also be accompanied by marked credit restrictions of our new banking system. [end recording]

Let us add to the approved budgetary makeshift arrangements that it certainly does not mean to jeopardize social security of the citizens. All the expenditure on social consumption, that is social security, education, health care, and culture, can be drawn in the 1st quarter of next year to the value of 25 percent of the yearly originally planned sum. The definite budget of the federation will then be submitted by the government to the Federal Assembly in March of next year. [passage omitted]

### Debates Election Procedure

*LD1312224789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] A 2-day session of the deputies of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly ended today in Prague. [passage omitted]

Regarding the problem of the election of the president, as was noted by Josef Bartoncik, chairman of the afternoon session, two proposals were made: one in favor of a popular vote and the other in favor of election by the parliament. They will be worked out, prepared and put forward in a regular way at a joint session of the two chambers. The deputies agreed with this stance.

### CPCZ's Valek Interviewed on 'Political Scene'

*LD0912103289 Prague CTK in English 0947 GMT 9 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—The party has to carry out its purification and get rid of various deformations. This process must take place quickly with regard to the fact that the party should always be present on the political scene. Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Miroslav Valek told RUDE PRAVO today.

"I do not see any reason for giving up our positions, succumb to pressure, to emotions etc... I think that also party members are glad to be able to part with the heritage of neostalinism, to breathe and think freely without the risk of being suspected of revisionism," Miroslav Valek said.

There are political forces which do not count with the Communist Party as a partner for shaping further development. They do not strive for democracy but rather for seizing the monopoly of power, he pointed out and added: "We in our party must do everything together with all progressive and honest people to prevent another big monologue." Everybody standing on the positions of socialist society is an ally of the Communist Party. In the current situation it is not important if a socialist society is led by the Communist Party or another grouping of forces or left wing orientation. "We must be aware of the fact that there is a political movement whose characteristic feature is self-administration, self-regulation and self-organization," Miroslav Valek said.

"Our party should represent a certain way out for various platforms which do not dissociate themselves from its program or better to say its draft program. In their existence I see the possibility of certain mutual competition for the best ways out for the party in connection with the solving the current crisis situation and its policy as such. We have to concentrate within the party all creative and progressive forces of society... we have to prefer quality to quantity in a broad moral, specialized and political sense of the word," Miroslav Valek said.

### CPCZ District Conferences Discuss Situation

*LD0912121189 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 9 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—One-day district conferences of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will be held in 127 towns this weekend.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is facing a quite new situation today—it has changed into one of the country's political parties from its leading position. The confidence of people in the Communist Party and the party's influence on the political and social processes in the country have considerably decreased. The discussions of the conferences will have to proceed from these realities.

The Communist Party conferences are facing today the demand of restoring party activities in all aspects. The draft action program of the party should be discussed by delegates to the party conferences.

The district conferences will elect delegates to the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party—one delegate with a deciding vote will be elected to represent each 1,000 communists. It is evident that a number of those who had been put forward before will not succeed today. The demand of time is that both the district and regional bodies and naturally the Central Committee of the Communist Party should include communists who have proved by their work and moral qualities that they strive for a democratic development of this society and not for personal privileges, power and career.

### CTK Reports Conference Talks

*LD1212214789 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee discussed at its session here today the course and results of the extraordinary district conferences of the Communist Party Central Committee during the weekend.

The conferences were marked by a sharp criticism of mistakes. Its participants stresed the need for parting with those who are responsible for it. They passed a vote of no-confidence in the existing central committee which has lost the party's support and stressed that the extraordinary congress should be prepared by the presidium. The party must energetically part with all who have misused their functions and enriched themselves unlawfully.

They fully supported the standpoint of the presidium on the entry of foreign troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968, abolition of the lesson drawn from the crisis development and on the political rehabiliation of communists who had to leave the party unjustly. The communists voiced support for the draft action program and called for the working out of new rules.

The presidium decided not to convene a session of the Party Central Committee before the extraordinary congress.

## CPCZ Primary Groups End Activity in CCTU

*LD1112142489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] The leadership of the action committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement was informed today of the fact that primary organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party ended their activity in all workplaces of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

## Mohorita Says CPCZ Respects Havel's Standing

*LD1212231689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Text] Vasil Mohorita, representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], talked at a news conference in Prague about the presidential election. He said that talks between representatives of the CPCZ and other political streams have so far concentrated on the manner of presidential elections and not on assessing the nomination of individual persons. Asked what the view of the Communist Party was on Vaclav Havel, Vasil Mohorita said that the party does not underestimate his position in society, and considers him a true representative of the current political movement in our country.

## Husak Asks To Be Released From CPCZ CC

*LD1312145789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] In a letter today, Gustav Husak asked Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, to be released from the post of the Central Committee of the CPCZ.

## CPCZ CC Presidium Prepares for Congress

*LD1312201789 Prague CTK in English 1856 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee dealt here today with the preparation of the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party convened for December 20-21, 1989.

The report will be delivered by Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek.

The Presidium abolished the nomenclature of the party Central Committee and the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic approved by the 12th session of the party Central Committee in December 1988. In the new conditions the Communist Party will put forward its candidates to functions in social life as other political parties.

The Presidium also abolished principles for awarding distinctions for the political, public, economic, scientific, cultural and other activities approved on August 18, 1989.

Presidium members discussed the question of further reduction of the apparatus of the Communist Party bodies at all levels. They stressed the need for legal and legitimate protection of all workers who will leave their jobs in the framework of reducing the Communst Party apparatus. They were against all forms of their dicrimination.

The Presidium was acquainted with the first measures of the commission to verify serious cases of misuse of position by some party functionaries. The Presidium decided about the setting up of the commission on December 7, 1989. The commission consistently studies the sale of real, especially of confiscated, property. It deals especially with questions connected with the acquisition of property by some party functionaries during the execution of their functions. On the basis of new facts the commission resumed the investigation of the Babinsky case and complaints of similar character.

## CPCZ's Urbanek Speaks to Brno City Committee

*AU1212213189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 89 p 2*

["Excerpts" from speech by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at an extraordinary city committee conference in Brno on 10 December]

[Text] In his speech at the city conference in Brno, Comrade Karel Urbanek said that a new political scenario and a new balance of political forces are being established during the current social processes underway in the country. Students and young people are becoming remarkably active, the National Front has been placed on a new basis, and new parties and groups are being granted a voice—he said later. Civic Forum has gained influence and support. The administrative bureaucratic system has crumbled under social pressure and, owing to its previous policy, the party has come under strong social criticism.

We must proceed from these new realities, whether people like it or not. The only future for the party depends upon it finding its place in the new democratic structure of society and upon it formulating anew its ideological starting points, its policy, and its appearance.

The rank and file Communists who so often and so urgently pointed out the loss of confidence in the party, the slump in its authority, as well as the need for radical changes were absolutely correct. Unfortunately, the former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium was deaf and blind to their warnings. Therefore, it is wrong and unjust to foist responsibility onto honest Communists who honorably and selflessly worked for society. After all, what the leadership was doing was contradictory to their points of view.

The main starting point for the party's new policy is its draft Action Program. As K. Urbanek emphasized, it is open to all ideas and suggestions which pursue the people's interests as well as the renewal and further development of socialism. Its clear line is, decisively and definitively, to part company with past deformations, to get rid of the burden of past errors, and to embark upon a new road of socialism that will follow up on our country's democratic traditions, on the very best of the party's experiences from the years of national and democratic revolution, as well as on January 1968.

The course of Saturday's [9 December] district conferences reveals that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is alive, that the great majority of Communists have not given in, and that they have indicated their will and resolve to renew activity and to embark upon a new road. This is borne out by attendance at the conferences (80-90 percent of delegates attended), the open, critical, and energetic discussion, exchanges of view, and justified criticism of party organs, including the Central Committee, for their earlier mistakes. The draft Action Program and the overall course of action for the extraordinary congress have been accepted and given support.

Today, party members are justly criticizing the fact that the party leadership, including the Central Committee, has completely broken down. Matters have come to such a point that many people have lost confidence in socialism. We will analyze why this has happened in more depth at the party congress. Immediate causes are associated with the development of events after 17 November, with the mistakes, with the half-hearted and inconsistent reaction, and with the perseverance in old stereotypes. This was an inevitable result of the contradiction between the fact that much was said about restructuring and democratization but that nothing was done about it in practice. The CPCZ Central Committee leadership thought that the changes taking place in the USSR and in other socialist countries could be avoided in Czechoslovakia. It turned its back on CPCZ initiatives, initiatives associated with M. Gorbachev. It refused to introduce criticism of the Stalinist model in Czechoslovakia, a model whose imitated system for running the party and state did not correspond to the Czechoslovak people's national, cultural, democratic, and other traditions. The people gradually lost confidence that the party is capable of introducing the necessary fundamental changes and, therefore, supported opposition forces and, under their leadership, started to assert these changes. The object of criticism is not, therefore, the substance of socialism but its deformation.

We would have to delve deep into history, as far back as the 1950's, for a clarification of the causes. However, there is no time for this today. The discussion you are conducting and the suggestions which have been made, as well as those which will still be made, are more important. We cannot discount the points of view of the Democratic Forum of Communists. It is important that its members have the honest intention of uniting the CPCZ and of stirring it into life.

It is necessary to at least mention the unfortunate consequences of the troops' entry into Czechoslovakia in 1968. As you know, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the Federal Government, as well as the Soviet Union and other participating countries have unequivocally condemned this erroneous political decision as an unjust and unwarranted intervention into Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. This intervention caused the reform process to be halted, thousands of honest Communists had to leave the party, and many other honest people were affected. The gradual renewal of administrative bureaucratic methods which followed the intervention caused our country to fall behind the rest of the world economically, technically, living standard and led to awkwardness in social life. Due to the logic of this system, the party found itself in the position of society's administrator and ruler. It is necessary to appreciate the attempts made by thousands of honest people, Communists, who tried under these complicated and difficult conditions to work for the country's benefit and who carried out a great deal of positive things. Other great opportunities remained unutilized. It was apparent that the bureaucratic administrative concept of socialism had become an anachronism and a brake on social development and that it must depart the scene.

As K. Urbanek said later, with its draft Action Program the new CPCZ Central Committee Presidium is definitely parting ways with this whole policy as well as with this concept of socialism. In the draft Action Program, it submitted a proposal for a new policy and for a new concept of social development.

First and foremost, this is a definitive and irreversible departure from the ideology, work, and methods of the Stalinist model, methods which were assigned to us. We renounce the party's political monopoly. We acknowledge the democratic concept of socialism, a concept that pursues our nations best traditions and experiences. In the draft Action Program, we declare our support for the new political system, a system founded on parliamentary democracy and widespread self-government. In economic, legal, and other spheres, we are in favor of profound reforms that correspond to a modern society at the end of the 20th century. We stand by the idea of the transition to a state regulated by a socialist market economy and by the restructuring of the legal code which will fully guarantee civic and democratic freedoms and all the features of a modern state governed according to the rule of law. We are in favor of free elections. The people themselves must decide on the arrangement in society. We must compete for the citizens' trust under the same conditions as everyone else.

This is a program open to all suggestions and proposals. On the basis of proposals from party ranks and other groups, we will supplement it and submit it to the extraordinary congress for a final decision. However, it is necessary to emphasize one thing again: This is not a temporary or enforced concession from us, but is the only possible way for the party's further development.

We are of the opinion that our party has every opportunity to preserve its significant place in society as a modern left-wing party which will express and defend the interests of the working class, the other working people, the intelligentsia, young people, and pensioners. It is necessary to struggle for social and economic reforms but it is necessary to take care that they are not carried out at the expense of the working people, their interests, and guarantees. However, this will only be possible if we overcome the aversion of those who do not want to or who cannot understand the need for these changes, people who will hold them back or prevent them. Similarly, we will unequivocally part company with all those who while in their posts discredited the party and abused their positions for their own benefit. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has already adopted appropriate measures, including a complete party solution to such matters as the Zapadlo and Babinsky affairs.

In our policy oriented toward maintaining socialist development, we offer cooperation—with complete party rehabilitation—to all those who had to unjustly leave the party. We want to cooperate with supporters of the OBRODA Club and other forces which support socialist points of view.

Under these circumstances, we must conceive in a new and fundamental manner the party's role and the mechanism for its internal life, especially its members' status and rights. We want, in principle, to put an end to the situation when, on behalf of the deformed understanding of democratic centralism, members' rights and opportunities for internal party discussion were suppressed. In the future, first and foremost, the members must determine party policy. Therefore, the Presidium has decided to annul the new draft articles, which were published recently, and to prepare their new concept for the extraordinary congress.

Later, K. Urbanek discussed other topical issues and tasks.

He talked about resolving the current crisis.

1. We have held talks with the Civic Forum and the National Front parties on forming a coalition government. It is expected from the new coalition government that it will guarantee the state's smooth running and, in particular, that it will prepare—probably, before the end of next June—free, secret, and direct elections. In the course of the next few days, other personnel issues in Constitutional posts will be dealt with.

2. We are striving in the political dialogue underway to accomplish a relaxation in tension and a return to normal life. We are also trying to achieve national understanding. We acknowledge our responsibility for guaranteeing the everyday interests of millions of our citizens and we demand that the other political forces proceed in the same way.

3. We have unequivocally expressed our support for resolving the political crisis by democratic political means. We consider the various speculations surrounding readied force or military interventions to be groundless and contrived. Similarly, on the basis of a conversation with Comrade Gorbachev, I would like to emphasize that the Soviet Union considers current events in our country to be our country's internal affair. Let us do everything to ensure that development in our country continues to take place via the peaceful methods of talks, compromises, and agreements. However, we will confront with all our resolve attempts to whip up anti-communist hysteria, attacks made on honest workers because of their CPCZ membership, and extreme ultimatums and threats which could force society into confrontation. This would seriously damage development in our country as well as the peaceful process in Europe. Everyone bears responsibility for ensuring that the principles of political culture and tolerance, principles which are acknowledged by everyone, are adhered to; attempts should not be made to replace one political monopoly with another.

4. We will strive to ensure that the continuous smooth running of production, supplies, and services is maintained under all conditions. It is impossible to permit the paralysis of managerial organs' activity or threats to the transfer to the new economic mechanism and the fulfillment of economic tasks. It is impossible to turn the economy's smooth running into a subject of political struggle. I think we will find support for these points of view in the working collectives. All the changes taking place in enterprises, the national committees, and elsewhere should be implemented in accordance with the law.

5. Even today we cannot forget the international circumstances of our current process. On the one hand, the

continuing process of international detente and disarmament—a process which was further developed by the results of a recent meeting at the highest level—have created favorable conditions for this. But we cannot overlook political reality in Europe, a reality created as a consequence of the Second World War. This particularly applies in the attempts to reunify Germany; this is something that would mean a fundamental change to the balance of forces on our continent. Therefore, we once again emphasize that our alliance with the Soviet Union, in particular, is today the main and constant guarantee of our state's external security and of the nullification of the Munich Agreement.

6. Everything that we are striving for depends, first and foremost, on how we renew the party ranks' capability for action on new political and organizational foundations. We must fully adapt party life to the new conditions. Formalism and bureaucracy have no place in it. The initiative and activity of each organization and of each Communist—according to the specific conditions of the workplace and locality—are vital. It is necessary to talk to people, to defend and explain our points of view and aims, to win support among the people for them, to confront resignation, and to point out that the ideas of a renewed socialism have great traditions in our country and—as we are convinced—a great future.

In conclusion, K. Urbanek emphasized that a difficult period lies ahead of us, but there are also unutilized possibilities ahead of us. We are getting rid of the burden of the past. We are not struggling for ourselves, for our power, or for our privileges, but we are struggling to ensure that the people live well and in freedom, that all the necessary changes take place while respecting their social interests so that the democratic and humane ideals of socialism are really implemented in our society. When we work honestly for these aims and when we renew our traditions of modesty and selflessness, we will again regain the people's trust. It is worth working for this.

## Further Reportage on 17 Nov Investigation

### Committee Seeks Information

*LD0812132989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] An independent investigation commission, comprising representatives of higher education students, members of the independent civic initiative, the Legal Aid Club, and other citizens, wants to contribute to the clarification of the events of Friday, 17 November.

In view of the fact that so far unconfirmed reports saying that several persons have gone missing have been circulating among the public, the commission urgently appeals to all departments of higher schools, the strike committees of higher and secondary schools, to thoroughly investigate whether there are missing persons at their schools. At the same time the commission asks all citizens who may know about someone who has been missing since 17 November, or since a later date, to give the necessary information to the office of the Independent Investigation Commission, the Faculty of Pedagogy, Charles University, Prague 1, 4 Magdalena Rettigova Street.

### Commission Issues Report

*LD1212231589 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—"At its Tuesday's discussions the commission approved the text of a report which will be submitted to deputies of the House of the People and House of Nations", Deputy Lubomir Fanta, spokesman for the parliamentary commission to supervise the investigation of the security forces action on November 17, told CTK here today.

"The commission voiced agreement with the activities of the military prosecutor's office and with cooperation with the commission and bodies of the prosecution", he added.

The parliamentary commission demands that the investigation of members of the command of police units involved in the action be completed by this christmas. Representatives of the military prosecutor's office consider this term acceptable provided that no serious facts are unveiled which would require longer time for investigation.

The commission appreciated the information that the military prosecutor's office of Czechoslovakia will transfer materials to the civilian prosecutor's office to institute criminal proceedings also against civilians for criminal offences connected with the action of security forces on November 17, 1989.

The commission appreciated the fact that no materials have been concealed from the side of the military prosecutor's office.

## Havel Speaks at Prague Human Rights Rally

*LD1012232389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1304 GMT 10 Dec 89*

[Speech by Vaclav Havel at Human Rights Day rally in Wenceslas Square in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed friends: The great political tide in our country, which we are experiencing, was set in motion by students who were immediately joined by artists and the whole cultural community. Exactly 3 weeks ago, on Sunday 19 November, the Civic Forum came into existence in Prague's Drama Club in an attempt to unify and coordinate all citizens and social forces, who have had enough of the totalitarian system and who wanted to act in freedom at last.

Since that time a great deal has happened. The deathly silence of humiliated people that had prevailed for many years was shattered by the multitude of voices of our people. Many have described this exciting and dramatic time as a quiet revolution. History, which was stopped artificially, has suddenly been set in dizzy motion. This has surprised us all again and again. Historians are going to analyse this period once and will tell us what it in fact was. [applause]

I have been empowered to speak here on behalf of the Civic Forum. This Forum has proceeded from the original demands raised by students and decided to demand that certain important changes be carried out by Human Rights Day, that is by today. Civic Forum branches have sprung up rapidly throughout the country; a network of strike committees has been formed; independent organizations have begun to emerge, and the media have won freedom of speech. Forum means a square. Our country has become one large square where everyone can speak. [applause]

Together with the Civic Forum, its sister initiative, Public Against Violence, began to function in Slovakia. It has rapidly become a real spokesman of the Slovak nation, and closely cooperates with the Civic Forum and which has the self-same demands. [applause]

Under the pressure of this great popular movement, the political and state leadership carried out certain important steps. Let us attempt to sum them up:

First, the article on the leading role of the CPCZ and on Marxism-Leninism as a state ideology has been dropped from the constitution.

Second, the most compromised representatives of the old regime, headed by Milos Jakes, have resigned from all their posts.

Third, after many extremely complicated negotiations, full of cliff-hanging ups and downs, a government of national accord has been formed. [applause] A short while ago it was sworn in by the president of the Republic and I can therefore brief you about it. Nine of its members enjoy the direct support of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence. [applause] Among them are also two Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] members whom we have recommended directly to the government. Two members of the Czechoslovak People's Party also enjoy our full support. We are happy that the two first deputy prime ministers are Dr Jan Carnogursky [applause], one of the genuine political spokesman of the Slovak nation, and Valtr Komarek. [applause] He, along with Vladimir Dlouhy, the other deputy prime minister, and Vaclav Klaus, minister of finance, form an economic team which provides us with the guarantee of the course to a genuine economic reform. [applause] Half-hearted restructuring, as has up to now been prepared, would mean a misfortune for our economy. It must be turned rapidly, peacefully and without any social tremors into a real economic reform. [applause]

We are happy that Jiri Dienstbier, a Charter-77 signatory who up to now has been the Civic Forum's spokesman, is the new foreign minister. [applause] We are happy that Petr Miller, a worker from the CKD factory, is the new minister of labor and social affairs. [applause] Among those whom the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence support we are happy to see our friend, Richard Sacher, from the Czechoslovak People's Party. The ministry of the interior will for the time being be controlled by the prime minister and his first deputy prime ministers, Jan Carnogursky and Valtr Komarek. [applause]

The state security service will be separated from this ministry and subordinated to a special committee under the direct control of Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky. [applause]

Miroslav Kusy, a Charter-77 signatory, is the chairman of the Federal Office for Press and Information. [applause] This office will probably be changed into a federal minister's post. The government will be restructred through a legislative process. Some ministeries will probably be merged, some of them abolished, and some newly set up, such as, for instance, a ministry of the environment. [applause] We believe that this government is justly named a government of national accord. [applause] It is, of course, only a provisional government, which is to lead our country to free elections in which our nations, after many decades, will for the first time freely elect their representatives in all representatives bodies. [applause]

The Communist Party bears responsibility for the general spiritual, moral, political, and economic decline of our country. We call on it, therefore, to put its best people at its head and help all of us to transform this country to democracy. [applause]

And fourth, and the last important news: the president of the Republic, Dr Gustav Husak, will today resign his post. [applause] Victory has certainly not yet been achieved but these are great successes and give great hope to us all. These are the successes of all of us, of both our nations. Without their spontaneous awakening these successes would not have been achieved. [applause]

Our quiet revolution was born out of the opposition of the students and then the whole nation against violence, dirt, intrigues, lawlessness, mafias, privileges, and persecutions. [applause] Let us preserve its purity, peacefulness, its affectionate nature, as well as its touch of gaiety. [applause]

Let us see to it that these values flourish further. Let us not allow anyone to sully this beautiful face of our quiet revolution. [applause] Truth and love must prevail over lies and hatred. [applause]

### Prague TV Broadcasts Havel Soviet Interview

*LD1112223289 Prague Television Service in Czech 2100 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] [Announcer] We shall now acquaint you with the standpoint of [Vaclav Havel] the leading representative of Civic Forum and candidate for the office of president of the Republic, on topical foreign political subjects. Havel gave the interview to Jaroslav Hanzel, a Civic Forum journalist, especially for Soviet television, and this is why the first question is directed at internal political developments in Czechoslovakia.

[Begin recording] [Hanzel] Vaclav Havel, I ask you as candidate for the office of Czechoslovak president, how do you view the current situation in Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] The great social tide that was in motion in Czecholovakia during the past 3 weeks came into existence following the brutal massacre of students. Despite this, this whole movement has been characterized by great peacefulness, self-discipline, and culture. It was not accompanied by bloodshed or by confrontations. It was very dramatic and exciting and it seems to me that this tide formed the first phase of the developments in which we in Czechoslovakia are participants. That phase has ended because many significant successes have been achieved which have satisfied the decisive political forces in Czechoslovakia, including the Communist Party, and above all they have satisfied Czechoslovak society. Among those results the most important probably is the abdication of the president of the republic and the formation of a government of national accord. This has met with general agreement and general support and the government began to work yesterday. Thanks to these successes a general strike is not now going to take place in the next 45 minutes in Czechoslovakia.

The next task Czechoslovakia faces is the election of the new president. If this election ends again to the satisfaction of all decisive political forces and above all the Czechoslovak public there exists real hope that Czechoslovakia will proceed in a peaceful way toward free elections and afterwards toward genuine democracy.

[Hanzel] And how do you see future relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union?

[Havel] I personally, as well as the Civic Forum which is putting me forward as a candidate for the post of president of the Republic, have more than once said that we want to live in friendly relations with all states of the world—and of course above all with those which have a decisive influence in the world today and these are the Soviet Union and the United States.

[Hanzel] And what is your view, as a candidate for president of the Republic, on Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Pact?

[Havel] Our ideal is Europe as a peaceful community of nations and states with equal rights. This includes also the ideal of dissolving the Pact. We support that, of course. However, we are at the same time realists and do understand that we cannot draw nearer to this ideal by any independent breaking from the Warsaw Pact, by a desire to achieve a kind of immediate and independent neutral status. This process has to proceed in a comprehensive way in all of Europe. And I have the feeling that now it is the turn of the West rather than the East to bring nearer the time of disbanding those relations...[corrects himself] those pacts.

[Hanzel] And the last question: What is your view regarding a possible departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] It is a common and popular desire that these troops should leave. However, all reasonable people—and fortunately they form the majority in our country—understand that it is impossible to suddenly drive them out. This is a question of bilateral talks between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and it is a question of talks on the platform of the Warsaw Pact. [end recording]

[Unidentified speaker] Vladimir Labuda, our Moscow correspondent, informed me before the beginning of our broadcast that Soviet tv will broadcast this interview in about 1 hour, roughly at 2300 Prague time. We did not want to wait that long and therefore we preempted Moscow's priority right to broadcast this interview.

## Democratic Forum 'Informal Movement' in CPCZ

*AU0712131089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 89 p 2*

[Interview with Rudolf Prevratil, spokesman of the Democratic Forum of Communists, and Jozef Hora, spokesman of the Central Committee Presidium of the CPCZ, by Dalibor Macha in Prague; date not given: "The Stands of Two Spokesmen—of the CPCZ and the Democratic Forum of Communists"]

[Text] We have received a number of queries from our readers about the program of the Democratic Forum of Communists (a radical reformist group inside the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which can already count on 40,000 followers); it can already look back on more than a week of activities and the question most frequently asked by our readers can be formulated as follows:

So far it has not been sufficiently clearly explained what the Democratic Forum of Communists actually is—it a faction, an ideological stream within Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], or a prototype of a new party?

I therefore asked Rudolf Prevratil, representative and spokesman of the Democratic Forum of Communists, to reply to this question—this time on the premises of the CPCZ Press Center. This is what he said:

We answered this question as long ago as at our second gathering on 30 November. We are an informal democratic movement within the CPCZ. The Democratic Forum of Communists realizes the risk of a split in the party. However, we reject such a split, we are not trying to create one. As for our being members of a faction, this objection is addressed to the wrong people. For many years we have had groups in the party which absolutely ignored the interests, demands, and political ideas of the membership base. We have thus had factions in the party for many years past; and we cannot see that anybody has a moral right to reproach us for this. We reaffirm our former demands: We reject both the existing party statutes, and their new draft, since they have not only failed to prevent the emergence of new egotistical factions, but even fostered them. That is why our proposal is to prepare statutes for a democratic type of party. One of the substantial parts of the party structure must be feed-back mechanisms and insurance policies against power monopolies inside the party. And this is yet another reason why we repeat our demand that the date of the extraordinary CPCZ Congress must be set so that it is convened prior to 20 December. I personally know of no other stream of opinion within the party that is as strong as we are, and that is like us." [quotation marks as published]

This is the stand maintained by the spokesman of the Democratic Forum of Communists.

—A question about the approach of the CPCZ leadership to the Democratic Forum of Communists was answered by Jozef Hora, spokesman of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium:

Both the CPCZ leadership and the party as a whole are asking for support in all spheres where socialism and the CSSR's interests are at stake. This calls for the implementation of a pluralism of views and of the principle of a democratic dialogue also inside the party. It is necessary to reestablish intra-party relations. I think that relations will develop on this basis not only with regard to the Democratic Forum of Communists, but also toward others; and I consider this quite normal.

### Holds Session

*LD0812060589 Prague CTK in English 2314 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—More than 600 supporters of the Democratic Forum of Communists met here today to define its further actions and structure.

Member of the Forum's cooordinating committee Rudolf Prevratil said that the Forum is not a faction but a movement inside the party which wants to incite a debate in the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The Prague-based coordinating centre is not a steering centre but only informative one. The main activity must be exerted mainly by local organizations of the Forum.

Most speakers called for the reconstruction of the party and the resignation of concrete representatives responsible for the present social crisis.

### Issues Appeal

*LD0812120289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] The Democratic Forum of Communists calls on all noncompromised communists to join the rival democratic stream in the Czechoslovak communist movement. It says that it is operating as a pre-congress democratic platform working independently of the existing party structures.

The Democratic Forum of Communists is not an independent political party. It cannot be excluded, however, that it will become one in certain conditions of political development. It rejects the current statutes of the Communist Party of Czechslovakia [CPCZ] and the new draft of the CPCZ statutes because it is not in harmony with the democratic principles of party construction.

The Democratic Forunm of Communists supports the effort of the Civic Forum aimed at free elections.

### Favors Direct Elections

*LD1112173989 Prague CTK in English 1611 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—The Democratic Forum of Communists (DFK) proposes that the new Czechoslovak president be elected directly by all people which is necessary due to the present composition of the Federal Assembly. The DFK said in a statement handed over to CTK today.

It proposed that work on the preparation of such an election be started immediately.

### Claims 50,000 Supporters

*AU1312181689*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 December on page 2 carries a 500-word Dalibor Macha, Vit Suchy report on the "Assembly of the Democratic Forum of Communists" in Prague's Julius Fucik Park on 7 December. The report mentions that "whereas a week ago the Democratic Forum of Communists had 20,000 supporters, by Thursday [7 December] over 50,000 present and past Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] members and persons without party affiliation had expressed their interest in activity in the Forum."

Describing the discussion at the assembly, the RUDE PRAVO correspondents mention that speakers "asked why Rudolf Hegenbart had not been elected to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium," demanded that the CPCZ Central Committee archives be "secured to prevent their misuse," called for an end to the nomenklatura system and "unwarranted prerogatives," and criticized the fact that, despite the abolition of the party's leading role, the party apparatus in the districts continues to control the situation there.

## Socialist Party Central Committee Meets

### Considers Program

*LD0712221589 Prague CTK in English 1654 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee met for a session here today to discuss the draft program of the party.

The document has three parts—the first one characterizes the party, its profile and the basic politial values. The second part is a summary of the party principles, its relation to patriotism, Czechoslvoak statehood, fraternal union of the Czech and Slovak nations, to the ideas of peaceful coexistence. The third part includes opinions and demands which the party wants to push through and which concern the current and future development of Czechoslovakia's social life. It specifies the position of citizen in society, stresses the need for the creation of a political pluralistic system, sets tasks in the protection of the environment, restoration of national economy and development of culture and education.

Today's session of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee elected Milan Adam, Jiri Bezecny, Oldrich Bursky, Petr Mison and Milan Nevole members of the party Central Committee Presidium. Oldrich Bursky was elected party vice-chairman.

The session approved the setting up of a club of democratic intelligentsia to associate within the party's framework experts from the sphere of science and culture who are or are not members of the Socialist Party.

### Chairman Hosts News Conference

*LD0912003589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] The Czechoslovak Socialist Party held a news conference today in Prague at which the internal political situation, the party program, and preparations for the April national conference were discussed.

Party Chairman Bohuslav Kucera said that he considers the current situation in the country to be grave, a situation of crisis. The positive way out, he noted, is the meeting of all political forces in the country at a roundtable. There will be discussion not only of the question of forming a new government but also the question of the president of the Republic and future representative bodies. Bohuslav Kucera stressed that it is impossible to tackle these questions separately. He also went on to report that he had met today the new chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth and they had agreed that a roundtable should take place in 2-3 days and the preparation of this meeting will begin already today.

### Chief on Civic Forum Support

*LD1012014789 Prague CTK in English 2045 GMT 9 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party took a very positive stand on the Civic Forum at the very beginning of its existence, Chairman of the Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera said during a meeting with Civic Forum representative Vaclav Havel held today, SVOBODNE SLOVO wrote in its special issue which will appear tomorrow.

"Even at the time when it was rather difficult, we published in our paper certain materials not published by the others", he added and offered to the Civic Forum cooperation and support for its demands. However, he stressed that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party wants to preserve its identity allowing it to become a balancing element even for the concentration of forces which the Civic Forum represents today.

The daily further said Vaclav Havel appreciated the work of its editors. He also discussed with Bohuslav Kucera the forming of a federal government and the Socialist Party candidates as well as the changing structures of the National Front and the term of free elections.

Vaclav Havel said "it was an important debate bearing on the fundamental questions facing us", the daily concluded.

The special issue appears on the occasion of tomorrow's anniversary of the universal declaration of human rights.

## Social Democrats Restored as Political Party

### Resume Activity

*LD0112161689 Prague CTK in English 1412 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak social democracy was fully restored as a political party on the day of the general strike of November 27, 1989 and resumed its political activity, representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy Preparatory Committee have told CTK.

They stated that Social Democrats fully support the Civic Forum and want to follow up the tradition of a party of workers and the broadest strata of the population. A statement "who we are and what we want" issued by the Preparatory Committee stated that the basic aims of Social Democrats include free elections and political pluralism, development of all social certainties for the working people, assertion of human rights, withdrawal of foreign forces from Czechoslovak territory, dissolution of military blocs, radical streamlining of the state administration, consistent economic reform and establishment of independent trade unions.

At present some 160,000 Czechoslovaks adhere to the ideas of social democracy, almost half of them being young people. After the publication of a program statement, that should be approved after the return of preparatory committee functionaries from the current congress of the Socialist International in Vienna, a membership of about 300,000 people is expected.

The decision concerning resumption of the activity of social democracy has been already sent to Premier Ladislav Adamec. Members of the preparatory committee have at the same time asked for the allotment of a building to become the party's headquarters. In the future they will also seek the return of the party's archives and the publication of an independent press organ 'PRAVO LIDU' (The Right of the People).

Social democracy has a long-standing tradition in the Czech lands. The party was founded in 1978 [as received] and its activity was halted in 1946. "This happened due to the fact that the Communist Party had abandoned Czechoslovakia's own road to socialism and accepted methods of Stalinist dictatorship," the statement of the preparatory committee said.

The committee's member Ales Gotmanov added that the merger with the Communist Party came at the Congress of the Czechoslovak democracy in Brno in the summer of 1948. However, that congress did not have a quorum due to insufficient number of delegates.

## Prepare Constituent Congress

*AU0712083989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "Preparing the Congress of the Party of Democratic Socialism"]

[Text] Bratislava (CTK)—The Party of Democratic Socialism, as an emerging new political party, has started preparations for its constituent congress. Its program will express the principles of democratic socialism, the pluralist principles of the political system, and ideas on the economic reform which would involve all forms of ownership, as well as views on the burning issues in the fields of environment, culture, and other spheres of the life of our society. The program of the new party will be governed by the needs and interests of workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, and the youth, which the party regards as its future.

## Member Interviewed on Program

*LD0712220189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Journalists met in Bratislava today with representatives of the coordination group to establish the Party of Democratic Socialism. Editor Zuzana Stukovska interviewed Dr Igor Cibula, member of the Bureau of Coordination Group, about some aims and tasks that stem from its program statement:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] While many parties or groupings are talking about socialism now, could you make clear what kind of socialism you pursue?

[Cibula] We are pursuing the kind of socialism which was born in the process of forming European civilization, which embraced the moral values of all mankind and which found its expression in many philosophers, regardless of whether they lived in this or in the past centuries. To be specific, the definition of socialism as we fixed it here in the past few decades, has been questioned, for example, also by such theoreticians as Academician Abalkin, who said recently that Marx's ideas of socialism are demonstrated, in some of their features, in what we call postindustrial society.

[Stukovska] We have always talked about certain values of socialism. Which values will your Party of Democratic Socialism recognize?

[Cibula] Above all, the free development of human beings as individuals, and then comes the principal of social justice and social equality.

[Stukovska] Despite the fact that members of the Communist Party who were expelled in 1968-69 are in your ranks, you stressed at today's meeting that you do not want to build on them?

[Cibula] It is natural because our party is organized on a much broader social basis, because its activity in the future will be oriented on young people—because the coming period is the period of rebuilding the basic social structures and the results of this process will be felt—I hope that in the positive sense—by young people. This means, it is young people, above all, and those who still maintain socialist ideals, but have doubts as to whether the existing structure of the monolithic Communist Party would enable them to pursue this ideal.

[Stukovska] You claim that the party being formed does not advocate lobbying. How should we understand that you want to work openly?

[Cibula] We wish that public be present at all party forums of the Party of Democratic Socialism—first represented by journalists, but also by our party discussions to be presented in the press. In assessing topical questions of great social significance, not only members of our party should speak, but we shall ask like-minded people and experts, regardless of their social and political orientation, as well.

[Stukovska] When should the constituent Congress of your Party of Democratic Socialism take place?

[Cibula] It seems that the Congress should be held at the end of January of next year. [end recording]

### Support Havel for President

*LD1112231289 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2130 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] The preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party has decided unanimously to support Vaclav Havel's candidature for the post of president of the Republic. Slavomir Klaban, chairman of the committee, expressed hope that the Federal Assembly will fully meet the wishes of a large majority of the population who demand a candidate who is not tied to any party and who enjoys the confidence of the public.

## Freedom Party Central Committee Holds Session

### Presidium, Secretariat Resigns

*LD0812113189 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] A session of the Freedom Party Central Committee that opened in Bratislava today is assessing the current internal political situation. At the beginning of the session the entire Presidium and Secretariat of the Freedom Party Central Committee resigned.

### Elects New Chairman

*LD0812235589 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2300 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] At an extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the Freedom Party, the entire Presidium and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party resigned.

The participants in the session went on to elect in secret ballot a new Presidium of 13 members. (Dusan Janota) became the new chairman of the Central Committee of the party.

It was also decided to convene an extraordinary congress of the Freedom Party to Bratislava on 13 January, with the direct election of delegates.

### Further on New Leadership

*AU1212210389 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 9 Dec 89 p 2*

[Excerpt] Bratislava (CTK)—The extraordinary session of the Freedom Party [FP] Central Committee in Bratislava yesterday [8 December] assessed the present domestic political situation and the course in the upcoming period. The entire Presidium and Secretariat of the FP Central Committee resigned in the opening part of the deliberations. The plenum then elected a 13-member Presidium in secret ballot, and elected Dusan Janota as new chairman of the FP Central Committee. Dominik Bury, Emil Kucharovic, and Jozef Sirotnak were elected as new deputy chairmen of the FP Central Committee. Silvester Minarovic, the newly elected central secretary of the party, outlined a concise, but principled analysis of the party's activity in the post-congress period. [passage omitted]

### Further Reportage on Bratislava Demonstration

*AU0912192589*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Television Service in Slovak (via Bratislava II) at 1500 GMT on 9 December begins an 85-minute live relay from the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava of a rally held to mark the International Day of Human Rights. The square is filled to capacity, with demonstrators showing the victory sign and carrying national flags and banners calling for free elections, expressing support for the Public Against Violence movement, and condemning the past "20 years of stagnation."

Before the start of the rally, the television announcer briefs the television audience on the state of talks between Slovak premier-designate Milan Cic, the other Slovak political parties, and the opposition on the formation of a new Slovak Government. He says that an agreement has already been reached whereby six members of the new government would be from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, one would be a member of the Slovak Freedom Party, one would be a member of the Slovak Revival Party, and nine members would be without party affiliation.

The program of the rally proper opens at 1505 GMT with a choir of Bratislava school children singing two patriotic songs, including, as one of the children singers points out, the favorite song of the first Czechoslovak president, "Father Masaryk."

Actor Milan Knazko, the rally's moderator, then introduces individual speakers, who include the general secretary of the World Congress of Slovaks, Toth; Cardinal Groer from Vienna; Trnava Archbishop Jan Sokol; folk singer Karel Kryl; the mayor of Hainburg, Bratislava's neighboring community across the border with Austria; "independent" Hungarian writer Gyorgy Konrad; as well as representatives of workers, students, and various Slovak regions.

Most speakers deliver greetings messages, voice support and admiration for Czechoslovakia's "gentle revolution," and express solidarity with the demands of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement, its Slovak sister organization. A Slovak students' spokesman announces the registration of two independent youth organizations with the Slovak Ministry of Interior the preceding day and protests against attempts to obstruct investigations into the 17 November events, particularly against the alleged "liquidation" of documents from the state security forces' archives. A member of a People's Militia unit announces that all 21 members of his unit have decided to abolish their unit and he appeals to all other People's Militia members to follow their example. The commander of a Bratislava fire brigade unit tells the crowd that his unit was the first in Slovakia to refuse to obey an order to make available its "special technology" (presumably water cannons) to the National Security Corps for "intervention against demonstrators." He also criticizes the fact that many Interior Ministry officials responsible for the issuance of this order are still in their jobs.

At the end of the rally, Milan Knazko asks the public to put lit candles into their windows on 10 December in the evening as a sign of solidarity with the victims of human rights violations everywhere in the world. Jan Budaj, another Public Against Violence spokesman, announces that a definite decision on the general strike planned for 11 December has not yet been made and that the final decision depends on the resignation of President Husak and on the composition of the Federal Government to be announced by 10 December in the evening.

### 'Tens of Thousands' Rally

*LD1012004589 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] For the second time this week, citizens of Bratislava met at the Slovenske Narodne Povstanie Square today at 4 pm [local time]. Editor Jan Smihula prepared a short report on the rally for radio news bulletin:

[Begin Smihula recording] Bad weather, snow and frost, four degrees below zero centigrade influenced the participation of people in the rally at the Slovenske Narodne Povstanie rally. Despite this, we could count several tens of thousands of them here. [passage omitted] Today's rally was again in the spirit of freedom and tolerance and was peaceful. [passage omitted on Christmas atmosphere]

The first guest speaker, shortly after 4 pm, was Mr (Toth), general secretary of the World Congress of Slovaks. He said that thousands of Slovaks all over the world followed the dramatic events in Czechoslovakia aimed at achieving human and civil rights.

Archbishop Jan Sokol, Slovak Metropolit, was the next to speak. He paid tribute to all those who raised their voices for freedom, truth, and justice. [passage omitted] At the end of 70-minute demonstration at the Slovenske Narodne Povstanie Square in Bratislava, Jan Budaj said that, given the fact that the internal political situation was not yet solved, the coordination committee of the initiative Public Against Violence was unable to say its last word on the Monday general strike. [end recording]

### Fischer, FRG Official Discuss Disarmament

*LD1312205189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1652 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—According to Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, the GDR has great interest in extending the notion of the treaty community to questions of security policy, disarmament, and confidence-building. In a talk with the respresentative of the FRG government for disarmament questions, Ambassador Dr Josef Holik, in Berlin today, Fischer spoke in favor of the GDR and FRG exerting their influence both bilaterally and also in their respective alliances with the aim of diverse disarmament steps.

According to the Foreign Ministry, the partners in the talks agreed that the prospect of a common European house requires faster progress in reducing the high concentrations of armed forces and armaments in Europe. Disarmament must not lag behind the tempo of the political changes on the continent. [passage omitted]

### Disarmament Consultations End 9th Round

*LD1312181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 2-day ninth round in the traditional consultations on disarmament questions between the GDR and the FRG ended in Berlin today. The GDR was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch, and the FRG by the disarmament representative of the Federal government, Dr Josef Holik.

In the talks there was agreement that everything must be done to prevent disarmament from lagging behind political developments in Europe, Krabatsch told journalists. "We discussed in a matter-of-fact way all areas of disarmament, and assessed where the main problems lie and what the two states can now undertake in order to advance disarmament." They worked on the assumption that the two states belong to different alliances, that there is, all the same, a broad spectrum of measures that can be advanced in disarmament negotiations. The GDR submitted a series of proposals to this end.

### FRG Republicans Seek Participation in Elections

*LD1312213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2004 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—According to its West Berlin spokesman, Carsten Pagel, the neo-Nazi party of the "Republicans" plans to take part in the elections to the GDR People's Chamber through a "sister party" of the same name. If the GDR does not admit the "Republicans," the elections cannot be described as free, Pagel said in West Berlin today.

He maintained that the "Republicans" are currently setting up an organization in the GDR. He declined to give membership figures. His party has been encouraged to take part in the election by the calls for the unification of the two German states during the latest demonstrations in the GDR.

### Commission Reports to Berlin City Councillors

*LD1312194489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack proposed today at the 14th meeting of the Assembly of City Councillors that official contacts with the West Berlin House of Deputies be sought. [passage omitted]

The city parliament received a report from the Commission of Enquiry on the events of 7 and 8 October in Berlin. It stated that the measures undertaken by the security forces could not be explained by an accumulation of individual attacks. Peaceful demonstrators had been branded in advance as counterrevolutionaries. The action was not only unjust from the present viewpoint, but also according to laws that applied then and are still in force now.

The commission demanded material compensation and social help in overcoming psychological consequences for the more than 1,000 victims. In the commission's view, evidence from those involved had not been properly examined. The massive obstruction to the work of the Commission of Enquiry, by claims of orders and alleged ignorance, must be penetrated. The security forces must be released from their duty to remain silent, as far as is necessary to clarify the events.

The people's representatives approved an application from the Commisson of Enquiry for an extension of its authority. The commission has urged the right to demand and look at relevant documents. Witnesses should also be obliged to comply with summons and to give evidence. The necessary legal foundations for this must be thoroughly approved by the People's Chamber.

#### Further on Meeting

*LD1312215289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin city parliament expressed confidence in the city government with 140 of the 177 votes cast today. The deputies debated a plan of measures for a renewal of municipal work and decided to incorporate proposals from parties and from the discussion in a first reading at the 14th session at the Red Townhall. They also discussed in a first reading a new agenda for the city parliament, which provides, inter alia, for the establishment of a permanent presidium and a directly elected city parliament chairman. It is to be specified in the newly formed parliamentary groups after discussion. The working committee elected at the beginning, which chaired the session, was charged with preparing the next city parliament meeting.

The deputies unanimously decided to revoke the honorary citizenship of Berlin awarded to Erich Honecker in

1982 because of misuse of office. An interim report by the ad hoc investigating commission of the city parliament meeting on the events on 7 and 8 October was received with approval. This was preceded by a several-hour discussion on the report by Mayor Erhard Krack on the situation in the city and proposals for further work as well as on the submitted reports and drafts.

## Kohl Agenda Outlined at Briefing

*LD1312204389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—FRG Government spokesman Hans Klein gave a briefing today on the federal chancellor's probable program, 6 days before his arrival in the GDR. Representatives of the governments of the two German states are currently working on its fine-tuning. As the federal minister told the federal news conference in Bonn today, Helmut Kohl has expressed strong interest in intensive, open and informative talks with Prime Minister Hans Modrow. The heads of government will meet for these talks by themselves this coming Tuesday at 1000 immediately after the chancellor's arrival, probably at Dresden's Bellevue Hotel. Later, Chancellery head Rudolf Seiters and the chancellor's advisor, Horst Teltschik, will be brought into the talks.

Talks at delegation level are to be held parallel to the summit meeting, for example, between the members of the GDR Government, Christa Luft and Gerhard Beil, and FRG Economic Minister Helmut Haussmann. Federal Minister Dorothee Wilms and government spokesman Klein would be included in this round.

After the talks at the highest level, the chancellor intends to give a news conference in which, Klein hinted, the chairman of the GDR's Council of Ministers would in all probability take part, too.

The journalists further learned that on the first day of his visit, which has now been extended until Wednesday, Kohl will also meet representatives of the GDR Evangelical churches for a detailed exchange of views. The second day in the GDR will be filled with talks between the FRG delegation and public figures from the Catholic Church, as well as oposition groups, until Kohl's return to Bonn, said the government spokesman.

Asked about agreements ready for signature, Klein said he cannot say whether, and which, agreements will be reached. This also depends on the course of the talk. Chancellor Kohl wants to find out as much as possible about how things are likely to progress in the GDR, and about the next steps for cooperation. The federal minister, in response to a question from a journalist who asked about a possible meeting between Kohl and new Socialist Unity Party of Germany Chairman Gregor Gysi, said that there is as yet no question of this, and he has no knowledge of this. Klein referred to a statement he made a few days ago, that in view of the shifting of weight in the GDR, it has become important for the federal chancellor to conduct talks with his counterpart, the GDR Government head of state.

## FRG President Discusses Future of 2 Nations

*LD1312214689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1942 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Interview with FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker by unidentified reporter on GDR television on 13 December—place not given]

[Text] Question: Herr federal president, the changes that have occurred and indeed are still occurring in the GDR—how do you see them, how would you assess them?

Answer: The Germans in the GDR have won freedom in a very peaceful and democratic revolution. The whole world was interested in the meeting again, which was the result of it, between the Germans here and there, and followed this democratic revolution with great respect. It is now a matter of using the freedom gained responsibly. That is today's task, in joy and gratitude that we have the opportunity, and in the knowledge that it is a great and difficult task to do justice to the responsibility.

Question: Herr von Weizsaecker, are you saying that as federal president, or a German, or perhaps even more as a Berliner?

Answer: I have spent the greater part of my life in Berlin and have developed my understanding of the nature of us Germans and our history from Berlin. For this reason I was particularly, and intensively, interested in the events in Berlin. However, I think that is true for the whole world. I see no difference between my heart beating in Berlin and my being a German. I am speaking on these matters as a German and as a Berliner.

Question: These changes are obviously not a matter solely for the GDR. The Federal Republic is also moved and affected. How moved, how affected at its core?

Answer: In the first instance it is a matter of giving form and commitment to the freedom that has been won in responsibility, and then solving the question on how the Germans should live together in the future. Of course that is of immediate concern to us in the Federal Republic of Germany. In the first instance we have to meet the Germans in the GDR with great respect. We received freedom as a gift, they fought for it and won it themselves. We have to meet the life that led to this point with respect. People have not lived their lives in vain, even if they were oppressed, or lived in need. A community of fate has been formed and we have to behave toward this with great respect. We must not interfere. But, of course, we want to and—I think—we should help to think, and help to advise, where it is of value for their process resulting from the freedom they have won. By this I mean that we here have our own interests, which are also quite legitimate, we have democratic competition and there can also be confrontations in this. But no one should use the development in the GDR for his aims here, whether it is those of the parties, or those of journalism. No one should exacerbate the situation from here. I think that we too have to learn how this process will continue, and I think we are also doing this. Helping to think and helping to advise, but not giving orders and certainly not treating people like children.

Question: German-German relations—an opportune theme of elections in the two German states in your opinion?

Answer: A democratic election is a competition between several parties, and it would be quite unrealistic to think that central issues affecting the nation should be excluded from the programs of the parties seeking seats. The most important thing is always bearing in mind that parties serve better solutions to problems. The problems do not serve as instruments for greater successes by the parties, and that is something that has to be learned from the start again and again and perhaps we can help with the experiences we have in this area.

But we should not think what really concerns us most now and touches our hearts most can simply be excluded. I think this is a matter of finding the correct balance between the legitimate competition between the parties on the one hand, and the very necessary concensus, without which democracy cannot live, particularly on such decisive issues, on the other.

Question: You have now spoken twice of learning. You recently said that today both German states could learn from one another. Today what could the GDR learn from the Federal Republic and what could the Federal Republic learn from the GDR?

Answer: Indeed, I am of the opinion that it is a process of learning and not a one-way street. Of course, I do not want to go too far into the area of individual criticism here. I just think that in your country this freedom was fought for and struggled for successfully with great idealism, great courage, and absolutely peaceful means. That means that you are not equally prepared for democratic competition and for the steps necessary for economic reform in all areas. That requires much patience. We must learn that you need time for this. How could it be different? Let me cite another example. Of course, there is very understandably, that is only human, anger about abuse of power or corruption, and the state based on the rule of law is there to have the necessary sanctions follow the abuse of power and corruption. But the state based on the rule of law, not taking the law into ones' own hands or thoughts of revenge, will take us further. Apart from this, the pool of people needed for building democracy is not large. The people that are there have to be treated carefully. People are also needed who perhaps made the odd mistake in the past. I too made mistakes in the past. Everyone of us has made mistakes. However, they have to be given the benefit of the doubt that they perhaps learned from their mistakes. Not only heroes can shape the future, but also those who are honestly prepared to help work for a free future in a state based on the rule of law, and they should be given the chance to do this. I think that we, for our part, can also learn much from the calm and patience they need. We should not stir things up but we must contribute to a cautious process. The next thing of which it is a matter in the GDR, if I may say so, is to see to it that vitality remains completely preserved and is expanded. The completion of a legitimated, freely legitimated, democratic state is possible and is quicker than successes can start from economic reform. However, both things must remain together; it is a matter of consolidating trust in both processes. That is something we have to learn. We must not just throw ourselves into the one thing and leave the other to its own devices. I, therefore, think that both sides are learning and in reality they are learning every day, and I think both sides are prepared to do this.

Question: I would like to ask again about this, Mr President: learning from one another and everything that goes hand in hand with this, in your opinion. I will quote you: The West Mark can and must help but...

Answer: We have an economic system that has proved efficient. This also finds expression in the currency. We must always take care that we do not see in the fulfillment of material goals the fulfillment of life. On the other hand, we, of course, do not want to come along and say: Well, yes, we are good at achieving the material goals, but you should for the time being be satisfied with your nonmaterial goals. There must be a harmony, an (?adequate) combination of these two things, and I believe that we can help quickly in a very concrete way and that we must help. I am thinking of the questions of the infrastructure, the care of the sick. We can help with buses and with agricultural machinery. There are all sorts of things that can also be made available very rapidly in a visible way, always presupposing that they are wished, and that will not only help in a concrete way in their respective sector, but will contribute toward the Germans in the GDR recognizing that it is worth having confidence also in the economic construction work, although it will take longer than the preparations for and holding of the free elections.

Question: In Leipzig and Dresden, and in Bonn and Munich, there is the call for unification or reunification, and that more or less rapidly. Here, as there, there are quite contrary views, indeed fears. Your opinion, Mr President?

Answer: My opinion is that we are one nation and that what belongs together will grow together. But that is it: It must grow together. The attempt must not be made to make it grow together at an exaggerated pace [zusammenwuchern]. We need time. If it is to grow together, it can only grow together out of the current situation, namely two states of one nation. Only when both are on a healthy path, only then can they grow together in a healthy way. We must, therefore, see what the two states can manage to achieve with one another. I think that for you and for us, and for us together, it is a question of self-determination, not of determination from outside. But it is a task in which we must keep our eyes fixed on our responsibility and on our context in the whole of Europe.

Question: The subject of Europe. Europe and the two German states, German-German developments. German-German rapprochement is welcomed, but concern is also expressed. How justified do you regard European concern of this sort?

Answer: I recently spoke to one of the leading politicians of the Solidarity movement from Poland, and he said clearly that they were a freedom movement, and naturally they felt solidarity for a freedom movement in their Western neighbors. Even if, as a result of history, the Poles did not have very good recollections of a very strong Western neighbor, they had no anxiety about a freely and democratically legitimate Western neighbor. I believe that this is an appropriate expression of what is involved. Without the development in Poland and Hungary, and now also in the CSSR, what we wish for the GDR and for the two German states together is not at all possible and cannot proceed.

Neither do I believe that people in the GDR would take it into their heads to in some way leave for the West for a path with the Federal Republic, and leave the others behind. Freedom was fought for jointly. This also gives rise to joint obligations. We have three different speeds, if I can express it that way. There is a German dynamic, then there is the dynamic in Europe about how we can work together economically, scientifically and culturally, and finally, third, how will the two packages, the two alliance systems, provide for a security umbrella that we, after all, still need and under which we can promote in a peaceful way the dynamics in relation to Europe and Germany. It is important that these three speeds remain in close touch. With regard to the wishes that we as Germans have over here and over there, we will be able to count on a happy future the more we demonstrate to European neighbors and partners our shared concern and shared responsibility about the progress made in Europe growing closer together. In our geopolitical situation, from which we cannot escape, we Germans have always had more neighbors than all other European states, that is, German history was always an interaction between German influence on our neighbors and our neighbors' influence on us. That is not a restriction on our self-determination, but it is nevertheless a challenge to our common sense and our shared responsibility for Europe as a whole. This will best serve our own German interests.

Question: This nearly answers the question about the two German states with regard to the European home, the peaceful European home. However, what sort of active contribution of their own should both make in the foreseeable future?

Answer: We have the CSCE process, to which we, I believe, have made a major contribution of our own. If we take basket three of the Helsinki Final Act, then we find in it the maxims according to which the democratic revolutions took place. However the Helsinki Final Act also refers to cooperation, stability and security in Europe. These aspects must be kept together. I believe that it is important that we utilize this dynamic that we have in Germany, and that has already brought us greater closeness with one another than any two other states in Europe, that we use it just as much for the welfare of Europe, as the growing together of Europe will have a beneficial effect for the Germans. I do not believe that it is important right now to make exact prophecies about the final outcome. There is, in any event, no historical final outcome. There is a process toward it. What we should, above all, be doing now is not to make grandoise architectural blueprints for how Europe will look in 20 years time.

It is important, and we have enough to get on with here, that we behave responsibly in the next 10 to 20 months, so that alongside the legitimacy of the state under the rule of law, the economic reform proceeds in a way that really is tangible for the people. The more they experience this, the more likely they will be in a position to show the patience that is naturally needed for this.

Question: Herr Bundespresident, to conclude, a completely personal question: Do you intend to visit the GDR in the foreseeable future?

Answer: I hope to be able to undertake a private trip to the GDR before Christmas and am looking forward to it. I would like to warmly greet your listeners at this point. I have great respect for the events we have experienced, and I think it is this respect that will lead us in the Federal Republic along a level-headed path into the future. I think, despite all the only too comprehensible controversies becoming visible here and there, that it will be the level-headedness that is the consequence of the courage with which you have achieved freedom, and which will bring with itself the best fruits for the future for us Germans.

Question: Herr Bundespresident, if I have read correctly, you set yourself the task before taking office to raise questions, to encourage answers, but to give no formulas. I view our talk today within this context and would like to thank you very warmly for it.

---

## 1st Official Talks Held Between SDP Groups

*LD1312182789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first official talks between the GDR's SDP [Social Democratic Party] and the FRG's Social Democratic Party [SPD] have taken place in Berlin today.

During the several-hour-long meeting, there was an exchange of views on the complicated situation in Europe and on the situation in the two German states, in particular the crisis situation in the GDR, SDP floor leader Ibrahim Boehme subsequently informed the international press. There was also discussion of the role of the "roundtable" in the GDR, in particular its function in the interests of the population.

The SDP and SPD agreed to set up a contact committee between the two parties. It should be composed as equally as possible and should meet under an alternating chairmanship. Within the body, joint problems of the two parties should be discussed. It was expected in the first instance, Boehme said, to bring about "an alignment of positions in the interest of the development of central Europe and of the two German states."

The SDP Executive argued that emergency economic aid is necessary for the GDR, if violence is not to escalate, the country is not to bleed to death, and a destabilizing situation develop in Europe for which no one could be responsible.

The cooperation between the social democratic parties in the FRG and the GDR assumed a new quality on 13 December, according to SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel, who led the delegation from his party's executive. This also included the federal floor leader Anke Fuchs. The SDP embodies the social democratic program and tradition and is the partner for the SPD in the GDR. According to Vogel, his party is prepared to give the SDP any help that it desires and deems meaningful, also in connection with the upcoming election campaign.

The SPD chairman underlined the great importance of "economic aid now and over the next few weeks for overcoming the bottleneck" in the GDR. In particular, he emphasized direct cooperation between towns in the framework of sister cities, and contacts between FRG federal laender and GDR areas [bezirkes].

Vogel described a confederation of the two German states as a step that could be taken provided the alliances continued to exist as political structures. Thus, in a foreseeable future, there could be an alignment of living conditions.

SDP floor leader Boehme reported that, in view of the present situation in the GDR, the constituent party congress planned for April 1990 had been brought forward. It will take place from 22 to 26 February in Leipzig. It is expected that the party will rename and will take the title of SPD in accordance with the traditions.

The SDP members must express their views on this over the next few weeks. There are also plans to hold an international "conference of communication" of the social democrats and the parties of democratic socialism in Europe, in the GDR in February, at which the future of the continent is to be discussed.

In response to a question of how he saw the present situation with the Leipzig demonstrations, Boehme said that the SDP wants to make it clear to all people that the escalation of violence not only dangerously aggravates the situation in the GDR but also in Europe as a whole. Questioned on possible coalitions in connection with the elections next May, representatives of the SDP executive stressed that they presently were not making any coalition approach to another party. Modrow's government is considered to be a transitional government, but in the interests of the country it is deemed necessary to preserve its ability to act until 6 May.

This afternoon, Vogel and the representatives of the SPD Executive held further meetings with reprsentatives of the New Forum, Democratic Departure, and Democracy Now. Also planned was a meeting with Gewandhaus director Kurt Masur.

## SDP Head Urges Implementing Travel Concessions

*LD1312222389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2113 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Hans-Jochen Vogel, Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] party and parliamentary group chairman, has sent a leter to Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, which was published in Bonn today. In it Vogel stresses that the concessions on travel from the Federal Republic to the GDR, announced by Modrow, have been unanimously welcomed in the FRG. Free and unhindered travel will be a fundamental element of constructive relations between the two German states.

The SPD chairman points out that the positive effect of the planned measures will be all the greater, the quicker they come into effect. This applies, in particular, in light of the forthcoming Christmas celebrations. "I therefore ask you to put the travel concessions into effect before Christmas. By so doing you will fulfill the wish of many people here to be able to visit the GDR over Christmas and the New Year without the prevailing awkward and time-consuming formalities."

## Modrow on Economic Tasks Facing Nation

*AU1312145089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 89 p 6*

["Excerpts" of speech by Premier Hans Modrow at a meeting with leading economic cadres in Berlin on 9 December: "Topical Economic Tasks and Next Steps of the Economic Reform"]

[Text]

### What Is the Current Situation Like?

For several years, the growth rates of economic performance in real terms and of national economic labor productivity have declined. The plan targets of the annual economic plans and the 5-year plans have not been fulfilled in general, nor as concerns vital parts, since the second half of the 1970's. There were partly hidden and partly open price hikes for consumer goods and services. Wide gaps in available ranges of goods and irregularities in the supplies of basic consumer goods have occurred again and again in many places. A "shadow economy"—work over and above actual work, and tax-free—and a "gray" or black market for goods and services that are in short supply are spreading.

In 10 of the 13 years after 1975 the personal disposable income of the population rose more quickly than the distributable material assets. Over the past years it has not been possible to ensure the stability of the GDR's currency. The purchasing power of the GDR mark has declined in the sphere of the economy. In the 1986-88 period a surplus of purchasing power of M10 to M12 billion developed.

In the 7 years after 1975, the national economic proportion of "increase in average wages as compared to the increase in labor productivity" was violated; this was done in a particularly extreme way in 1976, 1987, and 1988; these are years in which "productivity-promoting" forms of wages were introduced. Quite a few enterprises claimed the wage raises, which were linked with the introduction of these forms of wages, but did not come up with the planned performances. The motives for raising one's performance have clearly weakened.

In industry and in the construction sector an explosion of costs and prices took place in 1984-86, which is not only due to rising prices for raw materials, but also to excessively high general costs and the skyrocketing cost of repairs because of the outdated basic assets. At the same time, this was the main reason for the skyrocketing consumer price subsidies and the deterioration of export profitability.

By 1985, productive investments had declined below the level of 1977, and investment increases since 1986 have not, by far, compensated for the loss of the ability to undertake a material renewal. The average age of the basic assets has risen quickly, the rate of elimination and repair is extremely low.

Investment restrictions also led to a serious lag in the communal infrastructures. The continuity of the production process is partly disturbed to a considerable extent by disproportions between final producers and subcontractors, which were exacerbated by the arbitrary removal of goods from the domestic market for export, which led to expensive domestic production of subcontractor parts.

Foreign debts in the nonsocialist economic area have further increased over the past years. Liabilities have repeatedly necessitated intervention in our domestic market and exports of unprofitable products. Therefore, it is all the more painful that over the past years precipitate imports of equipment from the nonsocialist economic area have taken place.

**What Possibilities Do We Have?**

At the same time, we have bases in enterprises and combines, which can be developed. These include:

—the high-level qualifications of the working people;

—the labor reserves in the economy, for instance, the high proportion of working people doing manual work;

—the capacity of the enterprises and combines, which has increased over the years and has achieved an above-average level in international comparison;

—foreign market relations, which have grown over a long period, in particular with the USSR;

—the relatively high consumption of consumer goods and the provision of these to the population, as well as an important, newly established housing stock; however, we do see the bad condition of the many old houses, which has to be remedied most urgently;

—agriculture that has a relatively high capacity for a high number of livestock;

—developed cooperative and partly private forms of ownership, as well as experiences with private and semistate ownership until 1971;

—our location as a transit country and as a potential tourist country;

—the historical, linguistic, and cultural links with the FRG, which we will use more intensively;

—the possibility that our capital city and West Berlin will develop into a turntable in East-West relations and may establish territorial links, which would be of benefit to both sides;

—the objective interest of the West European neighbors in economic, political, and military stability in Central Europe and their increasing readiness to do something for it economically, and, not least,

—the potential economic possibilities inherent in further arms limitation.

The substance of our national economy is able to support the development and acceptance of scientific-technological innovations and can be developed as a basis for international cooperation and foreign trade, and as a source of income and social security for our country's working people.

**Reform—In What Stages?**

The general concern of the economic reform that has to be carried out is: The reform is to lead the economy out of the valley and again put it on a stable foundation so that it receives dynamism again, judged by international criteria.

In view of the fundamental changes in the economic strategy, social policy, and the economic mechanism that are to be achieved through the reform, the economic reform will have to cover a period of several years until it has been completely carried out and is effective in all parts of our economy.

However, the economic reform must start now. In its first stage—until about 1992—it is aimed at stabilizing the national economy. This period will be a phase of transition toward new quality in economic management.

In the second stage—as of about 1993—this quality must be developed further by making the enterprises effective on the market as goods producers with their own responsibility and full economic cost accounting, while having balanced proportions and being more profoundly integrated into the international division of labor. This will—in our view, as of 1995—have a comprehensive effect by providing corresponding economic framework conditions for production that are consistently oriented toward the domestic and foreign market through the further improvement of a long-term economic and social strategy.

The current state of planning stresses the necessity of working out a stabilization program, starting with 1990, which will reach into the year 1992 from today's viewpoint.

### What Does the Stabilization Program Look Like?

1. Measures for stabilizing material production. For this purpose, the directors general have to reach operational agreements with their cooperation partners and customers, and, in doing so, must themselves assume a high level of responsibility. The contracts that have been concluded for 1990 within the chain of cooperation and with trade are to be implemented consistently.

One of the most important questions is the stabilization of the subcontractor industry and its relations with final producers. For this purpose an entire program has to be worked out, and that must apply to everything from the enterprises to the State Planning Commission, and must be divided into specific positions.

Many tasks are centered around the modernization of production equipment.

One decisive factor is the more economical use of the available labor. At the same time, it is necessary to work out a job procurement program from below to above.

2. Determined measures to stabilize the domestic market are to be enforced. In this respect, the government has acted in order to prevent the speculative purchase of goods by foreign tourists and to protect our currency. Further stabilization measures, which are necessary, must be publicly discussed and prepared. The supreme concern must always be to find ways to bring more goods that are in high demand onto the market with better quality.

3. Measures are necessary to stabilize the monetary, financial, and loan sector, as well as our currency. These are, first and foremost, tasks that lie with the finance minister and the State Bank president. The State Bank must become completely independent from orders by the government and must be a real judge of national economic efficiency. With a strict loan policy, it must launch truly economical processes and real efficiency, and in practical terms must eliminate everything that is inefficient. This includes the establishment of a two-tier banking system, in order to separate the activities of an investment bank from those of a business bank [Geschaeftsbank].

4. The stabilization must also affect foreign trade relations. Maintaining the liquidity of the GDR is a task that must determine all measures in the foreign trade area. It is necessary to reliably fulfill all the international obligations we have incurred, and we will do so. As an immediate measure to improve our export efficiency, the proposal of the People's Chamber Committee for Industry and Construction should be taken up, that is, to examine export products for their net profit in foreign currency as early as 1990, in order to decide what should be exported.

In no case must we lose the market positions for which we have struggled. The existing foreign economic interlacings must not be destroyed but, on the contrary, must be consolidated and also expanded, where necessary.

Preserving the state's monopoly on foreign currency is and remains a decisive question. The GDR's international liquidity and credit-worthiness must be ensured under all circumstances.

It is further necessary to use new progressive forms of the international division of labor, up to joint ventures, to a considerably more intensive degree than to date. Our strategy for cooperation with the nonsocialist economic area must be coordinated. For this purpose, the use of a government representative is envisioned. Specific projects are to be presented to the government for decision-making, so that well-founded negotiations can be held by directors general and ministers.

5. The government fully supports the view that one of the main questions of economic reform is how we can use science and technology for far greater efficiency in the national economy. The stabilization program has to set down approaches to this.

One must take into consideration the fact that the research and development potential of the GDR will also develop in various forms of ownership.

Therefore, the government commissions the chairman of the State Planning Commission to work out a stabilization program within the shortest possible time, to present it to the People's Chamber committees for discussion, to go through it with the directors general, and to publicly announce it after it has been decided by the Council of Ministers.

### How to Manage in a New Way

The goal of the economic reform must be radical. We want to move toward an economy in which the working people really take possession of social property and are interested in developing their enterprise. Thus, why should they not be able to purchase shares [Anteils-Eigentum]?

Our economy is to have a truly democratic character. It is to be economically efficient and, thus, establish preconditions for satisfying the real needs of the working people, while providing social security. The performance principle is to be the basic principle for raising every citizen's standard of living. Our economic development must be socially and ecologically compatible.

Not least, it is necessary to decisively promote the internationalization of the national economy.

The main directions in which further changes have to be carried out include:

—development of the variety of forms of ownership;

—development of a structure for production and foreign trade that is aimed at increasing efficiency, at the market, and at social and ecological requirements;

—a new determination of the basic unity of our economic organization, of the independently managed enterprise with full economic cost accounting and self-financing;

—the aiming of central state planning at strategic development work;

—a reform of the monetary, pricing, financial, loan, and insurance system in order to establish the full functioning of the GDR currency and to gradually make the transition toward the convertibility of the GDR mark;

—new relations of communal self-administrations with the economic units in their regions.

### Ruehe's Reunification Statements Criticized

*AU1312224989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 2*

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "How Does Mr Ruehe Know This?"]

[Text] At the moment, one can only speculate about what the further development of the relationship between the two German states will look like. GDR Premier Modrow has proposed a community of treaties; FRG Chancellor Kohl, in return, presented his 10-point plan which would lead to a unification of the two states under a greater-German star. Not unjustifiably, opponents of the plan—in the FRG and in the GDR—are talking about an attempt to take in the GDR.

Many people—here and there, in East and West—are appalled at this idea, which is certainly a tempting one for NATO strategists. This is demonstrated by reactions to Kohl's project in Moscow and Washington, in Warsaw and London. In a talk with FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, Mikhail Gorbachev warned against provoking attempts to undermine Europe's stability. Careful dealing with each other and with the neighbors, and political tact are needed. A "joint and comprehensive opinion poll" in both German states on the readiness for reunification, as Christian Democratic Union Secretary General Ruehe has naively proposed, might reflect the topical mood, but it would not solve the problem. One is not astonished that the proposal comes just now and precisely from this direction. Since, at demonstrations, in particular in Leipzig, the call for "Germany, a united fatherland" is being increasingly heard, and citizens movements and political groups are playing with the idea of unification, a good climate for this is suspected. "Certainly," Volker Ruehe claims, a "clear majority" will come out in favor of reunification.

How does he know this so clearly? At a poll which was carried out among FRG citizens this week on behalf of Suedeeutscher Rundfunk, a clear majority did not consider this the most urgent question, and two out of three people polled gave Western integration priority over reunification. And concerning the GDR, in addition to the results of a poll which we published yesterday, there is another interesting figure: 234,826 citizens have so far pledged support for the GDR's independence by signing the appeal "For Our Country." And this is only a fraction of the number of expected signatures.

### CDU Members Call for German Confederation

*AU1312173589 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 8 Dec 89 p 1*

[NEUE ZEIT report: "Of Deep Concern About Explosive Situation in the Country"]

[Text] East Berlin—In the face of the shocking events of the past few days, which have conjured up an explosive situation among the GDR population, many members of our party, with deep concern, have turned to the governments of the two German states in an open letter, in which they express their desire that both governments declare their support for a joint development of the two states as quickly as possible. The letter, which was signed by Juergen Helbig, Wolfgang Breitenborn, Heinz Beer, and Roland Liebschner from Weissenborn, stressed that the joint development can only take the course of a confederation between the GDR and FRG within the existing borders.

### Jewish Communities on German Question

*AU0812131789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Dec 89 p 2*

[ADN/ND report: "Declaration: German Question and Future of Europe Open"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN/ND)—A "Declaration on the German Question" signed by the leading representatives of the Jewish communities in the GDR and renowned scientists was handed over to ADN on Monday [4 December]. In it, it is stated in four points that the existence of two German states is the result of a war that was started and lost by Germany. With its unconditional capitulation, this empire ceased to exist. The division of the German state is the consequence of the breakup of the anti-Hitler coalition and the cold war, which started at the same time and characterized the postwar order in Europe. Therefore, the "German question" is today, at the end of the postwar order, as "open" as Europe's future, it was stated.

A change in the status quo is subject to a regulation by a peace treaty and, thus, to the agreement of the victorious powers and the powers involved in the European process of detente. In view of the mass murder of the European Jews, special importance has to be attached to the Jewish people's participation in the regulation.

The preparation of the regulation by a peace treaty is already today the task of the two German states, while their sovereignty is being preserved.

The European peace process depends on the GDR people's freedom of choice, which is in danger because many urgently needed workers are leaving the country. In many cases, the FRG's clinging to the doctrine of uniform nationality decisively influences the decision in favor of resettlement. Therefore, the rights that are especially significant in this context and laid down in Article 116 of the Basic Law are to be suspended, the signatories demand.

Finally they ask people to accede to this declaration by appending their signatures. [passage omitted]

### Ambassador to Hungary Discusses Reunification

*AU1312163689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Dec 89 pp 1,3*

[Interview with GDR Ambassador in Budapest Gerd Vehres by Peter Vajda on 1 December; place not given—"There Can Be No Talk of a GDR 'Anschluss'"]

[Excerpts] [Vajda] The German issue has again virtually burst into world politics in the wake of the changes under way in the GDR. How is the GDR reacting to the distant concepts like the confederation plan?

[Vehres] Of course, we must consider the background. We are living through a deep crisis today and a revolutionary renewal has begun here with breathtaking speed. Various concepts have emerged in connection with finding the way out of this crisis. I can mention here the position of well-known public figures on the alternative of "either-or." The idea of confederation has emerged in this context. [passage omitted]

Today we regard the relations between the two German states in a new light. In our view, the relations between the two German states will remain the key issue of European policy. The fact that the two sides maintained their differing position did not hinder the process of normalization in our relations. Now we should regard our common interests, the interests of the population living in both German states, as the basis of developing bilateral relations of a new quality. [passage omitted]

We must find a lasting solution for the issues concerning the two German states, and we need peaceful and orderly coexistence and collaboration. [passage omitted]

### CSU Plans for United Germany Criticized

*AU0412200089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 89 p 2*

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "How Far to the Right?"]

[Text] Chancellor Kohl had hardly presented his "10-point program on Germany policy"—NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes it today—when FRG politicians made statements that showed that they already have very clear ideas about the political structure of a future united Germany. These politicians include the general secretary of the Christian Social Union [CSU], Huber, who expressed the view in an interview with DIE WELT that "in a Germany that moves closer toward each other or even in a united Germany...the cards must certainly be reshuffled as far as political parties are concerned." He spoke of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and CSU as allied parties that compete against each other "from Schleswig-Holstein to Thuringia (!) and Bavaria" or CDU/CSU in their old form, "which, however, would jointly compete against other parties in the GDR." These are some of the variants that officials are drafting at the CSU headquarters in Munich, even if Huber does "not yet" want to make public statements on details and strategies.

We are grateful for the instructions that we are given on issues of democracy and self-determination. The party landscape in the GDR has started moving as a result of the process of social changes. The GDR citizens alone will decide in a sovereign manner what this landscape will finally be like, but we do not need any party headquarters and no constitutional court in the FRG to tell us. The participants in demonstrations in Leipzig, Dresden, and other cities are calling for many things, but so far nobody has expressed publicly the wish to establish a far-right party.

However, this is apparently what Mr Huber wants. In this connection, the CDU does not think of "the GDR's CDU that, as one of the old parties, does not stand great chances in its view," but of the foundation of a new political group "based on conservative principles," as far to the right as possible. How far to the right? Are Schoenhuber's "Republicans" not based on conservative principles as well? We do not want to insinuate that Mr Huber is beating the drum for the neo-Nazis, but certain questions do arise.

Many things that seemed impossible yesterday have become conceivable today, with the exception of one thing: the formation of neo-Nazi forces, under whatever label. To preserve the GDR's independence means to return, as demanded in the appeal "For Our Country," to the antifascist and humanistic ideals that use to be our starting point.

## Direct Dresden-Hamburg Flights Established

*AU0712121889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 1 Dec 89 p 1*

[ADN/BZ report: "Flights to Hamburg as of Today"]

[Text] Dresden—Today direct flights beween the sister cities of Dresden and Hamburg will start. At first, until 12 January 1990 an IL-62 airplane will fly from Dresden-Klotsche to Hamburg-Fulsbuettel and back on Mondays and Fridays. Interflug and Deutsche Lufthansa airlines have concluded a corresponding agreement. The tickets are sold by branch offices of the Interflug travel agency and of the Interflug office in Dresden. Now there are four direct flight connections between GDR and FRG cities.

## Foreign Minister Receives PLO Official

*AU0612140589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 89 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Foreign Minister Receives Palestinian Official"]

[Text] On Thursday [30 November], Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer met with Sulayman Najjab, member of the PLO Executive Committee, who briefed him on the PLO's efforts to implement the Palestinians' right to self-determination. Oskar Fischer reported on the process of renewal that has been initiated in the GDR and spoke in favor of the further development of friendly relations with the Palestinian state. In general, the GDR advocates normal relations with all states in the Middle East, including Israel, and will shape its policy on this basis.

## Isolation of SED Members Denounced

*AU1312225089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Dec 89 p 1*

[Rosi Blaschke commentary: "Isolated?"]

[Text] I am worried that now, when we really need every mind and every hand for the radical renewal of socialism in the GDR, some people are practically isolated. I mean employees of party institutions and of the National Security Office, full-time party secretaries, chairmen of enterprise trade union leaderships from enterprises. They are marked with a "brand"—SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. One can already see at some factory gates: Job vacancies—no SED members.

In a letter to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, former party kreis secretaries of Leipzig Bezirk—from Torgau and Grimma— said that they do not want to avoid their part of responsibility, but that they are against the witch-hunt against them.

Yes, this party, in particular its leadership, has made itself guilty of great wrongs. And those who take their party membership seriously share this burden. However, they also see their duty to participate in the renewal—so as not to use the term laden with meaning, atonement. Despite all the rage that has exploded: Why are these people isolated instead of being called to work, instead of being used in places where they are urgently needed? I think it is too easy to accuse these members of being turncoats or even rotating-coats.

Finally, no Stalinism any more; finally, the rule of law is in sight (I think that the person of lawyer Gysi also reflects this)! Violating human dignity again under some a new sign would not be a good beginning.

## Justice Minister Opposes Defamation of Officials

*AU1312183389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Statement by the Justice Minister"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A statement by the justice minister says, among other things: There is a rising number of cases of defamation and attacks on judges, state notaries, or justice secretaries. Court proceedings are disturbed, decisions are ignored, the legality of notarizations by state notaries is doubted, and the enforcement of decisions—for instance, the enforcement of children's claims for support—is prevented.

Such actions are to be categorically condemned. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the courts and state notaries decided to the best of their knowledge and in an unbiased way on the basis of the laws.

We do not ignore the fact that in the past there were also phenomena in the sphere of the judiciary, which contributed to the development of the profound crisis of our society. Politics had primacy over law. This led to distortions in legislation and the application of laws. However, responsibility for this does not lie with the judges and other members of the judicial organs, but with the central organs that initiated, established, and interpreted these legal provisions in a way that was binding for the courts and state notaries. Such decisions must be rescinded by rehabilitating the persons who were sentenced.

The revolutionary renewal in our country must go hand in hand with the consistent rule of law.

We appeal to all parties, social organizations, citizens' groups, and to all citizens to ensure the orderly work of the courts and state notaries in the interest of unrestrictedly ensuring the citizens' rights, of guaranteeing legal security, and also in the interest of the just punishment of violations of laws that have now been discovered.

## SED's Break With Stalinist Structures Noted

*AU1312220789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 89 p 1*

[Wolfgang Spickermann commentary: "The Break"]

[Text] The artistically arranged bunch of flowers, which had been obligatory on such occasions in the past, was not handed over this time—instead, new party Chairman Gregor Gysi was given a gigantic broom at the end of the marathon session at night. This symbol does not need any explanation.

It is no exaggeration to call this first stage of the extraordinary party congress historic: The radical break with our party's Stalinist past has been made. After controversial discussions, the delegates unanimously opposed the dissolution and new founding of the party, and decided in favor of the fundamental renewal of a party that lives up to its responsibility for political and social life as a party with equal rights, with a new program, and under a new name.

The break has been carried out. But overcoming Stalinist concepts and structures, developing a new way of thinking and a corresponding political culture still lie ahead; this is a difficult process, which must be implemented by the entire party. Not least, this will be clearly expressed in the forthcoming program and statute of the party. During the discussion, some speakers justifiably criticized the fact that the goals mentioned in the discussion paper of the working committee, which was published immediately before the beginning of the party congress, still exclude many things. And others criticized the fact that the vision of a third path, which was expounded in the main speech, is still too unclear to them. This third path beyond administrative-centralist socialism and beyond the rule of transnational monopolies, a path for which our party wants to work, must be determined more precisely—but in a joint discussion of arguments by all comrades. It would be an old way of thinking, the party chairman said during the discussion, if someone expected that for this purpose the line could be set down "from above."

The attributes of past rallies of triumph, for which the party congresses of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany had been abused over the past decades, were absent in this night of discussion. In addition, the delegates of this extraordinary congress are all democratically legitimized. However, the burden of past traditions could not be completely overlooked. Calling together several thousand comrades involves some obstacles for the concentrated work of a party congress. Of course, these are obstacles of a completely different kind than in the past, where up to 5,000 comrades were ordered to come to Berlin for just one purpose in the end: to act as extras—with scripts that determined every single detail of their actions—for a leadership that had long separated itself from the people and also from the party grass roots.

Next weekend, in addition to the accountability report of the former Central Committee, questions of contents will be discussed—in particular concerning a draft program and a new party statute. The remaining days should be used for intensive discussions in the basic organizations. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND will report comprehensively on this.

## Former NDPD Chairman Expelled From Party

*AU1312221589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Abuse of Office by Prof Heinrich Homann"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Heinrich Homann, former chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], has been excluded from the NDPD for causing serious moral and political damage to the party's reputation through abuse of office to his personal advantage. The further legal investigation of Homann's financial affairs has been handed over to the Prosecutor General's Office. The NDPD Party Control Commission has started party procedures against Guenther Trysna, head of the Financial Administration and Party Enterprises Department. His party membership has been suspended.

## Berlin Police Chief Rausch Resigns

*LD1412100189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The president of the Berlin People's Police, Lieutenant General Friedhelm Rausch, has resigned. The spokesman for the GDR Interior Ministry announced today that the interior minister granted the resignation request, which was handed in yesterday.

People's Police Colonel Joachim Griebel is charged with conducting business.

## Leipzig Citizens Group To View Security Films

*AU1312145989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 3*

[ADN report: "Committee Secures Files in Archives"]

[Text] Leizpig (ADN)—The Leipzig Citizen Committee will be permitted to view video films as well as to take a look around sensitive areas, such as weapons chambers, of the Leipzig Bezirk Office for National Security (ANS). This is said in a joint press statement of the committee, a government representative, the Interior Ministry, and the head of the ANS Bezirk Office. The six-item statement also stresses that all ANS kreis offices are to be closed down.

At present negotiations are being held with the councils of the kreises of Delitzsch and Altenburg for using buildings that have become free. Useful and humanly acceptable work of former ANS employees of all kreis offices in civilian areas is being prepared.

## Brandenburg Prison Conditions Examined

*AU1312151589*

[Editorial Report] East Berlin National-Zeitung in German on 9-10 December on page 3 carries a 4,000-word report by Oliver Michalsky on a visit of GDR journalists to the Brandenburg Prison (date not mentioned). The report describes the prison facilities and includes statements by various prisoners, harshly criticizing the living conditions.

The report includes a 200-word interview with Major General Wilfried Lustik, head of the responsible department in the Interior Ministry, on the current situation of strikes in a number of GDR prisons and on prison conditions. Lustik notes that he does not consider the strike a good thing but understands it. He is pleased that the press is now permitted to visit prisons.

The report includes a 400-word report on a news conference given by prisoners, where they reported cases of psychological and physical harassment of prisoners, some of whom are said to have died as a result. They are reported to have provided the names of those they say are responsilbe and the names of the witnesses, which the report does not cite.

## News Conference on 'Tense' Situation in Prisons

*AU1312151489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 2*

[ND report: "Situation in Penal Institutions Tense"]

[Text] On Friday [8 December] in Berlin representatives of the Prosecutor General's Office, the Justice Ministry, the Interior Ministry, and other jurists briefed the press about the current situation in penal institutions. After the announcement of the amnesty the situation in the penal institutions has escalated. Demands for a comprehensive amnesty, for reforms of the execution of sentences, and changes in laws are maintained. This also applies to Brandenburg, for instance, where only 160 of the 2,196 prisoners are affected by the amnesty. The majority of the Brandenburg prisoners have been sentenced for serious crimes; 400 of them have been sentenced to life terms.

Press spokesman Peter Przybyslki stated that the Prosecutor General's Office is willing to examine cases that may be considered for suspending sentence on probation. Furthermore, sentences are examined that are based on politically motivated crimes, which look different from today's points of view and those where repeated relapses to minor offenses have led to long prison terms in summary. Furthermore, every prisoner has the opportunity to apply for a pardon by the State Council, according to Article 74 of the Constitution.

However, Peter Przybylski stressed, the Prosecutor General's Office is consistently against a general amnesty, because this would give rise to a great danger to all citizens. This position is also adopted by the justice minister, its representative, Horst Willamowski, said. He reported that the sixth amendment to the penal law has been presented to Premier Hans Modrow as well as to the People's Chamber committees and other bodies for discussion.

Every application for nullification of a sentence is examined thoroughly, Joerg Locke of the Supreme Court stressed. So far the courts have not had an influence on the conditions in penal institutions. Therefore, he is in favor of making these institutions subordinate to the Justice Ministry.

## Liberal Socialist Founding Committee Formed

*LD1312211289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1754 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A founding committee for a Liberal Socialist Party has been set up in Berlin. A document passed to ADN explains the political basis for the committee's intentions. It says among other things, that the party should be "noncommunist." It wants to represent the interests of those sectors of the GDR population "that are interested in the construction of a humanist, democratic, and free socialism and do not feel adequately represented by the existing parties and political organizations." Future socialism must continue "to implement economic and social policy as an indivisible unity."

The specific aims are outlined in 30 points. They include: personal freedom for each individual; the right and duty of the individual "to resist dictatorship, attempts at overthrow, and attacks on the socialist state from within and without;" and "the regorganization of the trade unions for prime tasks in the labor sphere with the right to strike—following a ballot—to implement the economic and social aims of the working people." The document bears the signature of Horst Fischer from Beelitz in the Potsdam Area [Bezirk], on behalf of those who intend to found such a party.

## LDPD Supports Modrow's Government Coalition

*LD1312203689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT Dec 13 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Party Chairman Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach has underlined the LDPD's [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] support for the Modrow coalition government.

In a talk with Christian-allied members and representatives of the Evangelical churches in Berlin today, he said that for the present everything that promotes peace and calm should be supported. [passage omitted]

"We want to make a contribution to rescue the GDR as a German and democratic republic," said the LDPD chairman. "We are in favor of a democratic order that ensures political freedoms and social rights equally, which is based on performance and competence, as well as on tolerance and morals." On this basis the party is today particularly open to Christians and members of other religious communities. The politician spoke in favor of implementing the unhindered activity of the churches in society and their free access to the media. These demands were also raised by other participants in the talk. Religious affiliation should not result in obstacles in school or professions.

Further subjects of the, at times, controversial round of discussion, were future settlement of religious holidays, extended opportunities for religious construction, necessary changes in education, and territorial differences in the progress of the renewal process. Gerlach said that the new constitution would provide for the introduction of Land structures, probably in the second half of 1990.

The LDPD chairman warned against the escalation of violence, inter alia, in connection with demonstrations for "reunification." If the peaceful character of the changes is not maintained, then the outcome cannot be predicted. He conceded that his party's executive is possibly in favor of a unity of the two German states. This can, however, only occur in stages, in the interests of the two countries and world peace.

### Roundtable Talks Criticized for Lack of Democracy

*AU1312140989 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 2*

[Konrad Weiss commentary: "Simply Dragged Across the Roundtable?"]

[Text] The first round of the roundtable talks has revealed a lack of a democratic culture. There is no doubt that all participants were of goodwill. But this alone is not sufficient to master the crisis. The roundtable has not yet provided the clear signal to our country that the people have been waiting for.

The priority issues were demanded half-heartedly and at the last moment: the establishment of legal bases for the work of the citizens' committees. The lawless space in which this is currently being done is intolerably explosive. Lawless spaces favor the death of democracy. In this respect, there should have been practical proposals and a draft law. Thus, the demand for dissolving the National Security Office remains nothing but a pious wish, even though it was made unanimously.

The preparations were insufficient, the procedures were unpleasant. Further participants were additionally appointed—some of them because they had demonstrated loudly, others because they were in the room in time. Still others, who were present accidentally, were made observers. Radio and television, however, were excluded from the technical talks at the wish of the host, the church. Democratic openness? After protests, it was at least permitted to make films for the archives. Experts were also not admitted, but they would have been urgently needed in particular by the opposition members, because they, like all participants, are still amateurs on the democratic political stage.

Representatives of the opposition also did not insist on enforcing equal working conditions immediately and before any further discussions. This is now to be discussed with the government, but negotiating guarantees for this have been neglected.

### Leipzig Citizens Committee Appeals for Calm

*AU1312184489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Leipzig: Appeal for Nonviolence"]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—On Sunday [10 December] the Leipzig Citizens' Committee addressed an appeal for nonviolence to the citizens of the city in order to ensure public and parliamentary control in the field of internal security. At a news conference in the Bezirk Office for National Security, the paper was read, which had been drawn up jointly the previous evening by New Forum, Democratic Awakening [Demokratischer Aufbruch], the Social Democratic Party, the Leipzig environmentalist federation "Eco-Lion," the Peace and Human Rights initiative, as well as by the students' council of Karl-Marx University. The paper pleads with the people not to resort to lynch justice and to avoid excesses, despite their rage. Only without violence can all the investigations be carried out, only further prudent and peaceful actions will support the responsible and involved work of the committee.

### New Forum Official Views Pace of Reform

*AU1212103689 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 5*

[Interview with Professor Jens Reich, joint organizer of the New Forum movement, by Urszula Kozierowska in Berlin; date not given—"A Different Version of the State"]

[Text] [Kozierowska] Looking at the latest events and changes in the GDR, one can agree with those who say that "perestroyka" here is proceeding at a gallop. This also applies to the "New Forum."

[Reich] Yes, we founded the New Forum over 10 weeks ago, and today we can claim to be well known. But is "perestroyka" proceeding at a gallop in the GDR? So far, it is only doing so verbally. There is no press law, no legal reform, no new election rules or amended constitution. I am not saying everything is proceeding too slowly, because it takes time to achieve anything. But it seems to me that the speed of changes is not as important as the extent and thoroughness thereof.

[Kozierowska] All right, but surely people's moods are changing at gallop speed?

[Reich] Yes, that is certain. For the first time in our history, we have had a calm and peaceful revolution. Every other revolution in Germany was bloody and doomed. Society has freed itself from the pressure, fear, and apathy; energetically demanded its freedom; torn down the wall; and removed bureaucracy from the party and state leadership. Now, people are still demanding far-reaching lasting reforms, civic liberties, and freedom.

[Kozierowska] What role has the New Forum played in the stormy life of the GDR these days?

[Reich] It has played a large one, together with other democratic initiatives that have taken shape in the GDR. However, the New Forum is something special, a kind of catalyst in this process, because it did not make any political demands, but merely appealed for self-liberation in simple language. At the same time, our activists did everything they could to make the demonstrations as calm as possible and prevent chaos.

[Kozierowska] How strong would you say the New Forum is?

[Reich] We have working groups in practically every single bezirk [area] and kreis [district]. Naturally, their energy varies. We are no longer able to estimate the number of our supporters. We have no computers or offices. We have been flooded with signatures placed on New Forum lists. According to the latest reckoning, we have over 200,000 members. The movement's first objective to liberate the people from their apathy, and inspire them to undertake energetic action, has basically been achieved.

We have a provisional council of spokesmen and a group of founders, to which I belong. Later on, this group will move into the background somewhat. We will hold a national preparatory congress in Leipzig in January, and a founding congress in Berlin on 27 January 1990. Then we will present a program and statute, establish the movement's organization, and so on.

[Kozierowska] And what will be the movement's objective in the second stage?

[Reich] There is a series of immediate political objectives that I mentioned at the beginning of our talk, and we will act energetically to achieve them. But we will also tackle such matters as reform; a reduction in the length of military service; the abolition of the so-called workers militia, a militia under party control; a reduction of the size of the state security apparatus to an essential minimum; and an entire range of difficult and complex matters connected with the economic reform.

[Kozierowska] What do you think has to happen before a breakthrough occurs in society's moods and expectations.

[Reich] It is difficult to say. The SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] activity has been half-hearted and superficial. All the basic concessions were fought for and won by society in the streets. If the SED had reached its decisions spontaneously or earlier, it would have caused a wave of popularity. But that did not happen, and the limit of society's patience was exceeded.

On top of all this, people are constantly learning new facts about the extent of the economic bankruptcy, corruption, and violations of the rule of law, which include the moral corruption of the leadership so far. However, the change in leadership is occurring slowly and superficially, and sometimes with serious errors, as in the case where people are elected to the Politburo one day, and forced to resign under pressure form the rank and file the next day. All this also illustrates an ignorance and misunderstanding of moods in the country, even among the SED rank and file. And moods are stormy and violent. Only a radical exchange of everyone in the party leadership, without any "ifs" and "buts," creates a chance to regain confidence in the SED.

[Kozierowska] Could the roundtable talks previously suggested by the "Democracy Now" group and currently suggested by the SED cause a breakthrough in social moods?

[Reich] The idea of a roundtable comes to mind when an existing parliament that does not possess complete social legitimacy appoints a new government and is compelled to amend the constitution and adopt new election rules. Because it is difficult to establish an order of priorities, it is necessary to find a way out. And such a way out is a roundtable, at which the people in power and the newly-formed opposition sit together in order to work out a compromise for the sake of a joint implementation of the reforms. Therefore, I think a roundtable is a solution forced upon us. I am skeptical about its results, because I cannot tell how willing the official parties are to undertake reform, but we will naturally take part in the roundtable because we cannot shirk from that responsibility.

[Kozierowska] So the roundtable will not change current moods?

[Reich] Unfortunately, I do not think so. Society is still very distrustful, and moods in this respect are more radical than they were several weeks ago. There are demonstration and spontaneous protest rallies. It is true that they have subsided recently and people's attention has been drawn away from these problems by the opening up of the Western border, but the "Western trip euphoria" will not last long.

The opening up of the border was, of course, the only recourse the state leadership had left. This release from confinement, so painfully felt by society for decades, had to happen. Perhaps it did not have to happen so quickly, perhaps it should have been better prepared, but it was a great day, for which the people had waited a long time. But it is obvious to any thinking person that following this holiday, a kind of hangover will be felt, and negative effects will manifest themselves, because the unprepared opening of the border has given rise to great problems—an outflow of money, speculation, illegal employment, growth in crime, and so on.

[Kozierowska] You are talking about new domestic problems, but there are foreign problems that give grounds for concern. Recently, demonstrations in Leipzig have called for a unification of Germany.

[Reich] I know there is such an attitude, but I do not know what its extent is. I do not know if those who voiced this demand would continue to do so if faced with its consequences. I do not think most of society wants German unification. I think most people want two German states, want to rescue this country with the help of the West and maintain good terms with the West, but independently. I also think that despite everything, the political unification of the two German states is not on the agenda. From an international angle, it is impossible; from a domestic angle, it is undesirable; and from a historical angle, it is illogical. I personally draw a conclusion from history, which teaches us that a federative German nation with a common culture but several states was and is a normal state of existence for us. Serious attempts to unite the German states would lead to Europe's destabilization, which is unacceptable.

[Kozierowska] So what is your vision of this country?

[Reich] I have my own private dream of a democratic country, one that is friendly, efficient, and a good alternative to the other German state. I personally see many social and egalitarian ideals that we should preserve.

## New Radio, Television Directors Appointed

*AU1112134989 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 2-3 Dec 89 p 2*

[ADN/BZ report: "Directors General for Radio and Television"]

[Text] Berlin—The GDR Government has appointed new men to head the electronic media. Manfred Klein was appointed radio director general and Hans Bentzin television director general.

## Further Reportage on Nemeth Visit to Britain

### Meets Thatcher, Howe

*LD1312203589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Report by London correspondent Endre Aczel]

[Text] London has received Premier Miklos Nemeth with heavy rain and with a gesture which may be truly considered as unique. This gesture was not extended either to Janos Kadar or to Karoly Grosz; the 2d Battalion of the Royal Grenadiers saluted him at the courtyard of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and provided a scenic background to the official greeting which Mrs Thatcher extended to the Hungarian premier.

Then a few yards away, in the office of the British prime minister, the two heads of governments held negotiations for nearly 90 minutes during which Miklos Nemeth received a considerable amount of praise from his partner.

Why? Because of his determination to walk to the end of the road—both politically and economically—which he has chosen. He is able to submit an exceedingly unpopular budget to the parliament soon before the elections. Mrs Thatcher said that she hopes that the budget will be recovered. She herself, as is known, has always been on the side of toughness as opposed to promises.

Somewhat earlier, Deputy Prime Minister Sir Geofrey Howe encouragingly told Miklos Nemeth that 8 years ago he had presented to the House of Commons an extraordinarily harsh budget and that had been the most successful.

It is undeniable that the British budget at that time aimed at the radical transformation of the economic structure in the same way as the Hungarian one does now. The only difference is that the British budget did not rely on foreign capital involvement. Regarding this, Mrs Thatcher told her guest that Hungary can expect significant foreign, Western assistance but it should first come to an agreement with the IMF, the condition of which—as is widely known—is that the Hungarian Parliament must adopt the harsh budget of the Nemeth government.

### Comments on Talks With Thatcher

*LD1312223189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Miklos Nemeth has said the following about his negotiations with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at his news conference in London:

[Begin Nemeth recording] During our negotiations we noted with joy that our relations are regulated, they are not burdened by any kind of unsettled political issues. I had the opportunity to reaffirm the invitation to Hungary for the lady prime minister, who has accepted this, or noted this, with pleasure.

Our economic relations have improved recently but there is still a job to do, particularly in strengthening banking and financial relations and in respect of operating capital. During my negotiations I mentioned the British banks' passivity, and I have received a promise that this will be examined through governmental, political means, and the activisation of these [banks] will be assisted.

I am convinced that by the elaboration of the law on private investment, which the government has completed and will submit to the Parliament, we open up Hungarian doors even more widely than hitherto to British capital. I have asked for support and help for the construction of the institutional system of the capital and labor market; for the training of managers, including the possibility of British managers taking over Hungarian companies; for the renewal of the education system, and the teaching of the English language within it. I also informed my negotiating partners that if, given the fulfilment of certain conditions, in Hungarian-Soviet economic relations we should introduce convertible currency accounting at the beginning of the 1990's, then Hungary could become a good spring board in the deepening of East-West economic and trade cooperation.

We have judged our cultural relations as developing, as something to be strengthened, and singled out the Hungarian Festival in the Barbican Center. [end recording]

### Returns to Budapest

*LD1412094289 Budapest MTI in English 0652 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth returned to Budapest from London late Thursday night. The chairman of the Council of Ministers paid a one-day visit to London, Meeting an invitation from Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

## Foreign Minister Horn Arrives in Brussels

*LD1312122789 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Text] Brussels, December 12 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn arrived in Brussels on Tuesday to present Hungary's position at the first ministerial session of the group of 24 for support for the reforms of Poland and Hungary.

'I aim to present an authentic picture about Hungary's situation, its achievements in democratic tansformation, and the grave difficulties that have emerged mainly in the economic and socal-welfare spheres,' Mr Horn told the Brussels correspondent of MTI on his arrival.

The ministerial session is to start at 10 a.m. on Wednesday.

Tuesday evening, Mr Horn is scheduled to meet Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund. The meeting is to be attended by Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary who arrived in Brussels on Monday and held talks with officials of the European Community on the loans pledged by the 12-nation community. Gyorgy Suranyi, state secretary of the National Planning Offilce, is to attend.

Wednesday morning, before the ministerial session, Mr Horn is scheduled to meet U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

## Speaks to Group of 24

*LD1312143589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Foreign Minster Gyula Horn told the 24 in Brussels that it depends on Western support whether the reforms continue or whether the country plunges back into a condition that no one would find desirable. Our special correspondent, Gyorgy Bernat, reports from Brussels:

[Begin Bernat recording] Hungary's strategic objective is that within a historically foreseeable time she should become an equal-ranking member of the democratic community of developed societies from both social and economic points of view. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said in Brussels this morning at the conference, where the leaders of the diplomacies of 24 capitalist states are conferring over the financial assistance that may be given to Hungary and Poland.

We will implement the program of totally transforming the social and economic system, even if in the beginning this will be accompanied by social conflicts, Gyula Horn stated, adding: Perhaps it is this which most preoccupies the West at present. If, in the course of implementing the program, the government is obliged to take such restrictive measures that they cause grave and lasting disturbances in the economic circulation and living standards, then the endeavors might come up against general resistance. What is more, the conservative, retrograde forces may become active, may gain mass support.

Gyula Horn did not say precisely who these might be, but every foreign minister knew to what his Hungarian colleague was alluding. Gyula Horn's statement, couched in diplomatic language when translated into Hungarian, was therefore in essence that it also depends on the support of the West whether the reforms continue or whether the country plunges back into a condition desirable to no one. After the verbal support, now it is time for the West to decide on real and tangible aid, as well. This is what emerged from Gyula Horn's speech. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Meets Baker, IMF's Camdessus

*LD1412100289 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Brussels, December 13 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who on Wednesday attended the G24 [Group of 24] ministerial session dealing with Poland and Hungary, left for Budapest in the afternoon with the other members of his delegation.

Before leaving Brussels, Mr Horn told MTI's correspondent that he had held a consultation with Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on Tuesday evening.

The two had evaluated former talks between the IMF and Hungary, and emphasised the necessity of reaching an agreement so that next year the international banking world would continue supporting Hungary and grant the loans required for transforming its economy.

Mr Horn went on to say that his Wednesday morning talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had focussed on bilateral ties and the possibility of a major ease in the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy] list which prohibits the export of high tech goods.

Mr Baker put Mr Horn in the picture about the Maltese summit, and Mr Horn dealt with the pivotal changes that had taken place in Hungary since the two politicians last met in September.

Mr Baker emphasized that the United States was interested in the current processes in central and Eastern Europe taking place alongside the preservation of stability.

## More on OECD Negotiations

*AU1312110289 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, 11 Dec (MTI)—A Hungarian Government delegation and representatives of the 24 OECD member countries are to start talks in Brussels on Wednesday on Western help to Hungary. The Hungarian delegation will be headed by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and include State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, Gyorgy Suranyi, state secretary of the National Planning Office, and Szabolcs Fazekas, deputy minister.

Istvan Matko, chief counsellor of the government, said that in the recent period the OECD countries had offered a wide range of assistance to Hungary and Poland. In most cases, however, it is not yet clear what proportion will go to Hungary. The forthcoming talks will be aimed at defining these proportions.

Preliminary talks have led Hungary to expect help in the following areas:

Financial assistance to maintain the country's solvency, Financial backing to speed up restructuring,

Measures to improve the Western market access of Hungarian exports (customs reductions, removal of trade barriers),

Cooperation in environmental protection, education, training, and in boosting ventures.

The Hungarian Government is fully aware that the negotiating parties consider an agreement with the IMF the fundamental condition to any assistance. They consider the continuation of democratization and the economic and political reform processes none the less important. The government is committed to fulfilling both requirements, Mr Matko said.

The OECD countries have promised the following support:

The U.S. Congress approved a three-year aid package, amounting to 938 million dollars, to help the two countries. Hungary would get between 80 and 90 million dollars, out of which 60 million dollars would be earmarked for the promotion of ventures, and the rest for manager training, trade promotion, environmental protection and the promotion of democratic institutions.

Austria has offered Hungary and Poland 20 million schillings' worth of assistance in the way of manager training.

Belgium has offered Hungary and Poland financial assistance worth 390 million Belgian francs.

Denmark has decided to create a fund worth 300 million Danish Kroner.

Finland and Hungary are preparing a 100-million-dollar commercial credit agreement. Besides, Finland has promised to grant Hungary education aid to the tune of 1.2 million Finnish Marks for 3-5 years, which does not have to be paid back.

The Dutch Government has offered Hungary 3 million guilders.

The Japanese Government expects to grant Hungary and Poland assistance worth 300 million dollars. Japan also intends to create a 200-million-dollar credit facility for Hungary and Poland, with Hungary to have access to 54 million dollars.

Canada is creating an export promotion fund of 10 million CaD, from which both Poland and Hungary can draw over the next five years. A Hungarian investment fund worth 80 million USD has been organized by Canadian and US businessmen and the National Bank of Hungary, and another fund to be worth 250 million usd is currently being organized.

The banks of two lands of the FRG have granted a 500-million-DM consortial loan to Hungary. Deutsche Bank granted another 500- million-dollar loan guaranteed by the government of the FRG. A Bundestag vote means Hungary and Poland will get development loans of 10 million DM in 1990, and 45 million DM in the subsequent three years.

The British Government has approved a 25-million-pound Hungarian fund to be used in the next five years.

Norway has promised Hungary and Poland 70 million Norwegian Kroner.

The Italian Government has approved a motion on the creation of a 50,000-million-lire investment fund for Hungary.

A Swiss Government package contains 240 million SFR in support to Hungary and Poland for the next three years.

EC Assistance to Hungary and Poland:

300 million ECU to assist investments in Hungary and Poland

The EC Council of Ministers has accepted guarantees for loans worth a total of 1,000 million ECU, to be disbursed by the European Investment Bank to Hungary and Poland in the years 1990-1992.

Plan for creation of Central European Investment Bank with a capital of 10,000 million ECU.

Support for Hungary's request for a world bank loan of 1,000 million dollars.

## Planning Chief Kemenes Wants IMF Agreement

*PM0812095489 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Dec 89 p 39*

[Interview with Erno Kemenes, chairman of the Hungarian National Planning Office, by Erik Izraelewicz in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Izraelewicz] Hungary, which has a big debt, needs new credit. The discussions with the IMF seem to be difficult.

[Kemenes] Hungary hopes to reach an agreement with the IMF soon. Current consultations relate to technical questions such as the accurate assessment of our debt, notably the effects of exchange rates on the size of our debt.

Hungary acquired considerable debts in the past. In interest payments alone—in other words excluding the repayment of the capital—we must pay our Western creditors $1.4 billion this year and as much next year, in other words 5 percent of our production. Current growth, which is around 1 percent, cannot suffice. The reforms which we carry out do not yet permit an adequate improvement in our performances, even if, for instance, our sales for foreign currency have already increased by 20 percent in 1988 and again by 10 percent this year. We want to avoid rescheduling; we therefore need new credit.

[Izraelewicz] Does the IMF want the government to adopt a more rigorous, more austere economic policy?

[Kemenes] We have already reached an agreement on the guidelines for economic policy and on the main measures to be taken. It is true that there is still debate on the adjustment of some actions, notably the reduction of the budget deficit, the reduction of the balance of payments deficit, and the exchange rate policy. In some spheres, the IMF wants more far-reaching measures.

However, it must take into account the fact that our government must satisfy conflicting demands. Indeed, we must reconcile the management of the debt, the speeding up of our country's modernization, and its move toward a market system. We must therefore ensure social peace and guarantee the current process of political change.

[Izraelewicz] Like the opposition, the Hungarian Parliament has just rejected the economic program which you presented last week....

[Kemenes] You are right; there was a very lively debate on the first reading of the program which I presented. In December, I will present a document to Parliament which will take this debate into account. We do not have much room to maneuver; we must implement a very tough rationalization program. This will lead to an increase in social inequality and unemployment. With the restructuring scheduled for next year in the mines and the iron and steel industry, for instance, the number of registered unemployed people will probably increase from 10,000 to 40,000 (out of an active population of more than 5 million people).

However, I think that our program will be adopted by Parliament. The present government has reached a consensus with all the political forces in the economic sphere. Although there are subtle differences, nobody is proposing radically different economic programs.

[Izraelewicz] Is the freedom to travel abroad not being contradicted by the decision to limit to $50 per year the amount which individuals are allowed to change through the state?

[Kemenes] The state has liberalized currency exchanges. Anybody can have a hard currency account. The fact that we have limited the possibility of changing currency through the state does not undermine the freedom to travel. It simply struck us that it was more useful to channel the currency which we have toward the modernization of our economy rather than allowing it to be used up in speculation organized by some individuals. I think that the only reason for criticizing the government is for failing to make this decision earlier.

[Izraelewicz] In view of the political situation and the results of last weekend's referendum, do you think that the IMF will sign an agreement with your government?

[Kemenes] It is up to the IMF to decide that. Either it signs an agreement with our government, or it waits for the government that will emerge from the coming parliamentary elections. In the latter case, Hungary will need intermediate funding. We are considering several possible solutions. I think that we must hold these elections earlier than planned, in January and not in March.

[Izraelewicz] With the changes in the GDR and now in Czechoslovakia, are you not afraid that Western aid—in its different forms—might be deflected from Hungary?

[Kemenes] There is no rivalry. Hungary is ahead in the process of reintegrating into the European economy. Its chances are probably better than those of other countries. We undoubtedly feel increased interest in us by Western industrialists and financiers. There are already numerous specific operations, notably for our privatization program. I hope that French capital will also play an important role in this process.

[Izraelewicz] Are the Soviet Union's economic problems not likely to have serious consequences in Hungary?

[Kemenes] There is no doubt that if there are upheavals in the running of the Soviet economy, it will have repercussions on our economy. The USSR's energy situation is now difficult. We have internal reserves, but we are seeking opportunities to import. If there are no unusual events, we will be able to ensure the normal supply of our economy this winter. But, you are right, there is a risk.

[Izraelewicz] You are an independent expert belonging to no party and you are chairman of the Planning Office. Will the announcement of the establishment of a market economy be reflected in the elimination of your office?

[Kemenes] Our very orthodox name no longer corresponds to our function. In fact, in a market economy, our functions will continue: We are drafting economic policy and coordinating regulation. We play a similar role to your economic ministry plus your Planning Commission. Moreover, we will certainly change our name and will possibly become the economy ministry.

### Paper Carries Interview With SPD's Glotz

*LD1312115389 Budapest MTI in English*
*0928 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 13 (MTI)—"We strive for the right to self-determination of all peoples of the world. Therefore it would be rather difficult to represent the position that the Germans are the only ones who are not entitled to the right of self-determination. In case the Germans in the GDR democratically decide in favour of reunification, and the West Germans decide to accept this, then no wall can be drawn up between them", said

Peter Glotz, former executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and member of the party's Presidium, in an interview carried in the Wednesday issue of the daily "NEPSZABADSAG".

"All the same, I do not indulge in the false hope that the development of international relations is the exclusive affairs of the Germans. It is a matter alike concering the Polish, Russian, Dutch and French people. Right now, the international situation does not seem to make reunification possible. The FRG has concluded very many inter-state agreements, including fundamentally important ones as, for instance, the Treaty of Rome setting up the Common Market. I would not like for us to withdraw from these contracts. On the contrary, these have to be upheld, and it follows from this that we have to negotiate with our Western partners. On the other hand, the security interests of the Soviet Union also have effects. The FRG obviously does not want to, and shall not, leave NATO. But I simply cannot believe that the Soviet Union would accept the membership of the GDR in NATO. In other words, although reunification mainly depends on us Germans, very much depends on our European neighbours', Mr Glotz said.

## MSZMP To Hold Congress at Culture Center

*LD1412100789 Budapest MTI in English*
*1326 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 13 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], which has a membership of nearly 100,000, is to hold a congress at the Rozsa Ferenc Culture Centre of Building Workers on Sunday [17 December] a press conference was told on Wednesday.

HSWP spokesman Ferenc Virag stated that the party would like the support of the broadest strata of workers. Under the multiparty system, the party intends to safeguard the interests of its members, and also to represent the agricultural sphere and the progressive intelligentsia.

Mr Virag pointed out that the aim of the congress is to organize a unified Marxist Party and set up the party's central body responsible for reorganization and the shaping of a modern, progressive left-wing party.

Gyorgy Marosan has been requested to open the congress.

## Berecz Calls for Party Reorganization

*LD0612024189 Budapest MTI in English*
*2145 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) should be reorganised, and such reorganisation is in the interest of the future Hungarian society, said Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP's 14th Congressional Preparatory Committee, at a Budapest conference of the party's activists, held on Tuesday.

Concerning its social aspirations and spirit, the HSWP, being in the process of reorganisation, should be a Marxist, left-wing political party of a movement character.

The party conference of last May and the new Constitution should be considered as a starting point in the organisation, Mr Berecz stated. In view of the fact that the Republic of Hungary is founded on the values of bourgeois democracy and the concept of democratic socialism, the emergence of both the political forces advocating socialism and those favouring a bourgeois restoration in the envisaged political struggles can be expected.

In the process of purification, the forces that created the Hungarian Socialist Party lost more party members than they intended, but failed to creat a powerful reform party, Mr Berecz continued.

"The leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Party would carry a grave historic responsibility if they were to initiate a fraternal struggle of the left-wing behind the slogan of democratic socialism", he said.

## Grosz Comments on Political Situation

*LD0712235889 Budapest MTI in English*
*2222 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—'The left-wing is so scattered in Hungary that it is not able to avert the danger of a rightest transformation. But the right wing which is not on common terms in many questions, is united in the desire to discard socialism and seek capitalism. For this reason, and to save the values of the workers' movement, left-wing forces should close ranks,' said Karoly Grosz, head of the organizing committee of the HSWP's 14th congress at a HSWP session in Miskolc on Thursday.

Answering questions, Mr Grosz said he considered the dissolution of the Workers' Militia a political mistake brought about by an increasing right-wing tendency in politics. He therefore proposed that the HSWP should set up its own body of organizers in Borsod county.

## Nemeth Urges Assembly Adoption of Budget

*LD1412132389 Budapest Domestic Service*
*in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth was present at this morning's session of the National Assembly's Plan and Budget Committee. Laszlo Gardai and Jozsef Orosz summarize the proceedings so far:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] The Hungarian premier recommended not only to himself but also to the country that the agonising and painful steps be delayed no longer. Because if the country does not take these steps, in other words, if Parliament does not adopt the budget, then we will have to face the worst, the Hungarian version of the Yugoslav or the Polish example.

Another danger is that the peaceful nature of the transition could become doubtful. If Parliament does adopt the draft, then we know, Miklos Nemeth said, that in January or in February we will have to face the sharp resistance of society.

The head of government described the adoption of the budget as an issue of confidence. I no longer have the professional or the spiritual strength for us to prepare a new budget by January, Miklos Nemeth said. He added that this is not blackmail, but that professional honor compels him to say it. In his opinion, even without the IMF conditions, the measures put off for years must now be taken, because this is the only chance for the country to remain on its feet. It would lead the country to ruin if we did not make use of the possibilities offered. With this Miklos Nemeth was alluding to the fact that Hungary has the chance for peaceful modernization and reforms once every 1,000 years.

The plans include a 2-2.5 percent real wage reduction and a 1-percent increase of consumption. The head of government mentioned by way of example that in Poland the real wage reduction is 15-20 percent, though there the measures are having to be taken by an opposition party.

The Hungarian Government has reached agreement with the IMF on the basic figures. Disturbing the supporting pillars would mean that the discussions would have to be started again and that the promised foreign loans would be lost. One of the supporting pillars, for instance, is the much debated and so far rejected increase in housing rent and housing loan interest.

The session of the Parliament's Plan and Budget Committee was planned to last 2 days. As for what the deputies will have to say in the end about what they have heard—whether they will vote yes or no—we will find out only later. [end recording]

## National Assembly Modifies 18 Dec Agenda

*LD0612023489 Budapest MTI in English*
*2051 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—The previously published agenda of the next parliamentary session—called for December 18—is to be amended. During its November session, Parliament postponed the debate of a numbr of bills to its December session, and then some bills were also submited by the government, with an urgency appeal. Some items of the agenda planned to come up at the December session, will now be put off until Parliament's January session.

The agenda of the December session includes the following items:

—briefing on the economic policy programme for 1990.

—bill on the 1990 central budget, and bills on the amendment of the law on central technical development fund and social security, including its 1990 budget,

—proposal on the reform of the housing system and related measures envisaged for 1990, and bills on the tax payments on state loans for housing, subsidising the interest on the state loans and the contributions for the housing fund,

—bill on consumer taxes and consumer price subsidies,

—bill on the amendment of the law on post and telecommunication,

—bill on the amendment of the law on levies and fees,

—bills concerning the amendment of the Constitution (on public prosecution, on criminal proceedings, the penal code and the law decree on penalties and related measures),

—bill on the salary of leading state officials and MPs [Members of Parliament],

—MPs proposals concerning the amendment of the laws on health, economic organisations and economic societies,

—proposal on the structure of the envisaged state audit office, its staff and annual budget,

—passing of a resolution on the questions concerning the referendum,

—discussion of an MP's proposal on the dissolution of the National Assembly.

## MTI Compares Opposition, Main Parties' Assets

*LD0512021589 Budapest MTI in English*
*1453 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 4, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), Hungary's most powerful opposition party, has published figures which put its material assets at only 518,000 forints (8,600 USD).

Party treasurers reported on Monday that these are made up of an East German-made Wartburg car, two photocopiers and a switchboard. They also have 116,000 forints' worth of semi-fixed assets in the form of furniture, typewriters and an answering machine.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum, which won all four recent by-elections, rents offices in Budapest and several provincial towns. Total membership, which costs 100 forints (1.7 USD) a month per wage-earner and 50 forints for the retired, is 20,500 and brings in 1.6-1.8 million forints (about 28,000 USD) a month. 40 percent of this is transferred by local organisations to the party headquarters to finance operations. Total permanent staff is 19, with only 6 employed full-time.

The MDF was recently granted 15 million forints (250,000 USD) out of the 100 million forints set aside by the government for opposition parties and will use the money primarily to develop its network in the provinces.

The party has also taken out a six-month 1-million-forint loan with the Hungarian Credit Bank at 19.5 percent interest.

The MDF points to its relative poverty when compared to the recently dissolved HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. The ruling party for 33 years, whose assets topped 12 billion forints (200 million USD), while its successor, the ruling Hungarian Socialist Party, still employs over 1,000 people.

### Free Democrats Appeal Use of HSP Buildings

*LD0612041889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] The Kispest Organization of the [Alliance of] Free Democrats demands that the Hungarian Socialist Party hand back to the District council, within a week, the right of disposal over its buildings. This [the District Council] should immediately begin talks with the parties in the district on redistributing the buildings.

The Kispest Free Democrats allege that the local Hungarian Socialist Party is usurping the handling rights of nine buildings, and it has not even been willing to hold talks on most of these.

### Szuros Meets Social Democratic Party Delegation

*LD0612221689 Budapest MTI in English 2046 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, met the delegation of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary led by Anna Petrasovits in Parliament on Wednesday. Their exchange of views focussed on timely issues, including the forthcoming elections and the conditions for the operation of parties, and the domestic political and the economic situation.

Matyas Szuros also met with members of the executive committee of the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party in Parliament on Wednesday.

### New March Front Urges Economic Agreement

*LD0612042389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] According to the New March Front, the parties and organizations should immediately come to an agreement on the basic economic measures which must be taken by any government that comes to power in Hungary, in the near future. In its standpoint, the organization emphasizes the peaceful transition to democracy can be realized only if the parties put their own interests behind national interests, and if every force operating in the country unites. The New March Front cautions that our country is in a serious economic situation, and every existing political force is equally responsible for the country's future.

### Land Office Workers Hold Peaceful Strike

*LD0612222789 Budapest MTI in English 2044 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—Employees of land offices held a nationwide strike, announced in advance, on Wednesday to demand higher wages. In the wake of the call of the National Council of their trade union launches on November 30, several offices closed their doors for the entire day. At most places, customers were informed well in advance of the intended strike.

Gyorgy Berkes, president of the National Trade Union council of Land Office Workers, told MTI that this warning strike was held, as the central promises related to their demands had not yet been fulfilled. The wage of land office workers is 35-40 percent behind the average industrial wage, and 20 percent behind that of council employees.

The strike took place in a peaceful manner throughout the country.

### Independent TU Begins in Foreign Ministry

*LD0512210489 Budapest MTI in English 1631 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—An independent, democratic trade union has started operation in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

According to its statutory document, the independent trade union of Foreign Ministry employees will represent the interests of the ministry staff working in Hungary or abroad, and people who have retired from the ministry. The democratic trade union has adopted the principles of voluntariness and equality. It is to act independently from the political parties and movements and not join any federation of trade unions.

### Unions Dissatisfied With Protection of Interests

*LD0612025489 Budapest MTI in English 2137 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—The National Council of Trade Unions (NCTU) is dissatisfied with protection of interests this year, said Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, in his preamble at the press briefing following the Tuesday session of the National Coordination Council of the Trade Unions. This year the trade unions had no influence on central price measures.

The National Coordination Council will propose the re-negotiation of the system of wage regulation at the december session of parliament, and will also appeal to parliament to call the national elections at the earliest date. A committee to handle the crisis should be created immediately, consisting—on a parity basis—of representatives of parliament, the government, the parties and social organisations, including the trade unions, the appeal of the council says.

Detailing, Mr Nagy reported that he received a letter bearing the signature of the speaker of the parliament and the prime minister, inviting the representatives of the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front and the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce to a discussion concerning the most pressing economic issues.

In summarising this year's work of the trade unions, Mr Nagy reported that real wages have decreased by one or two percent, although the government had originally reckoned with a six per cent decrease. As a result of the coordination discussions between the NCTU and the government, the funds set aside for increasing pensions and family allowances were increased by 10,000 million forints.

Mr Nagy also considers as a success that a state programme was worked out at the initiative of the trade unions, designed to solve the problems of the unemployed and the needy. As a result of the trade unions' wage struggle, the minimum wage was fixed at 3,700 forints in the first stage and subsequently at 4,000 forints. Trade unions have also contributed to the government allocating over 4,500 million forints this year, for raising the salary of people working in health, education and culture.

## Martial Law Anniversary Demonstrations, Statements

### Szczecin Rally

*LD1312212489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Report by correspondent Roman Trojarek from Szczecin]

[Text] Dramatic events occurred in Szczecin, beginning with a rally in Grunwaldzki Square, in the city center. The time was 1530. An effigy of General Jaruzelski was burned ostentatiously. Next, the crowd moved toward the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office. Verbal altercations with the militia went on for an hour. The officers were showered with bottles, stones, and firecrackers. Finally, the crowd of several hundred teenagers launched an attack, despite appeals from adults participating in the demonstration. The militia used water cannon. When I was leaving the battleground at 1800 the area was surrounded by many patrol cars. Also, several ambulances drove past with their sirens wailing.

### More Unrest

*LD1312212589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] In several cities, including Warsaw, Krakow, Szczecin, Katowice and Wroclaw, radical groups organized demonstrations. Their main demands were that those guilty of the introduction of martial law be punished. [crowd shouts: "Down with the Commies!" "Down with the Commies!"] The demonstrations were especially violent in Katowice, where 350 young people used Molotov cocktails. The Militia apprehended several people. [indistinct background noise] Also in Szczecin, the demonstrators used firebombs. [wailing sirens in the background]

### AFP Report

*AU1312210089 Paris AFP in English 2032 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13 (AFP)—Thousands of people staged anti- communist demonstrations across Poland, with angry crowds attacking party offices and police stations in some cities Wednesday on the eighth anniversary of the imposition of martial law.

The protests also targeted General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the communist leader who declared a state of siege on December 13, 1981 and is now the Polish President.

Several thousand young people tried to force their way into local communist party offices in the southern cities of Katowice, Cracow and Tarnow, and the northwestern city of Szczecin, sources close to radical groups said.

Demonstrators smashed windows with stones and bolts before police waded in with clubs and water cannon to disperse them.

Protesters in Szczecin burned an effigy of Gen Jaruzelski.

In Warsaw, about 100 students, mainly from high schools, marched outside the presidential palace and central committee headquarters chanting "Resign".

They also shouted for Soviet troops to "Get out". An estimated 40,000 Soviet troops have been stationed in Poland since World War II, according to Western sources.

Some 40 police guarding the Central Committee offices were pelted with snowballs bottles but did not intervene. [sentence as received]

There were no immediate reports of injuries or arrests.

All the demonstrations were organized by the nationalist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and small marginal groups like the Radical Socialists (PPS-RD), Federation of Fighting Youth, and Environmental Movement for Liberty and Peace (WiP).

Roman Catholic masses were celebrated nationwide in memory of the crackdown eight years ago.

At midday, church bells rang and factory sirens wailed in response to a call by the trade union Solidarity.

But Solidarity leader Lech Walesa declared: "The drama of the state of siege must not shroud the future and settling of accounts should not substitute for the desire to build a just and prosperous Poland".

Gen Jaruzelski declared in a newspaper interview on the 1981 events: "Solidarity under-estimated the power of the leadership, while it (the leadership) misjudged the union's strength".

In the press, many editorials focused on the anniversary, but stressed that Poles should turn to the future and work for "reconciliation" to pull the country out of the current deep crisis.

The non-communist-led government stated that "these eight years, while very tough, have not been wasted".

Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska told a news conference: "It was a lesson for both sides. The communists found out it was impossible to govern without society participating. The opposition learned that intransigence in the struggle for freedom must be accompanied by political realism".

### Student-Militia Clashes

*LD1312231289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] The streets of Warsaw have been the scene of several demonstrations. A group of demonstrators set off from the gates of Warsaw University to the building of the General Prosecutor's Office next to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee building.

The gathering was addressed by Seweryn Jaworski. He said that until free and democratic elections are held, the only government recognized by his group is the Polish Government in London. At the monument to the fallen in the service and defense of People's Poland a minute's silence marked the victims of the people's power and then the monument was pelted with stones and bottles. A group of demonstrators passed by the Belweder Palace to the square inside the PZPR Central Committee building. Some of the more vociferous demonstrators were removed from there by the militia, but no force was used. However the forces of law and order did intervene in some localities.

In Krakow, there was a demonstration in the city square under the banners of the WIP [freedom and peace] movement against the presence of Soviet troops in Poland, which, 8 years ago, were a significant factor in the anti-Polish blackmail. The demonstrators attacked the building of the Krakow PZPR Committee. The door was broken open and a newsagent's stand was set alight. The fire brigade intervened.

In Wroclaw, there were violent clashes between those demonstrating on behalf of the Fighting Solidarity and the KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] and units of the militia. Young people attacked the building of the voivodship office of internal affairs with stones. The militia used truncheons and water cannon.

There were similar incidents in Szczecin this afternoon.

## OPZZ Statement

*LD1412120889 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1705 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 12—The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) adopted today a statement relating to the 8th anniversary of the imposition or martial law in Poland.

For trade unionists the date of December 13 is always associated with the suspension of workers' representation activity. The hopes brought about by August 1980 were wasted. Once again working people paid a high price for strife among elites, the statement reads.

Today, having learned the lesson of experience, the statement continues, we are particularly sensitive about any attempt to restrict the right of self-governing working crews. We are concerned about new attempts to curb union rights already won. The government's draft amendments to the law on trade unions is an example of this.

The OPZZ Executive Committee Secretariat expresses fear whether this time again the interest of the majority of Poles, people earning their living on hired work, will not be endangered. Polish transformations however open up prospects for our nation, arouse our hopes. Such hopes were with us from August 1980 to December 1981, the OPZZ stated.

## Gornicki on 1981 Decision

*LD1112163989 Warsaw Domestic Service*
*in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Was it possible to avoid martial law in Poland in December 1981? The greater the [time] distance, the greater the possibility of acquiring an objective answer, approximating to the truth, write the editors of POLITYKA, in the introduction to a survey on the subject, 'Was Martial Law Unavoidable?'. In this issue are pronouncements by Wieslaw Gornicki, Jerzy Holzer, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Jerzy Kolodziejski, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Marcin Krol, Olga Krzyzanowska, and Andrzej Micewski. Here are several excerpts from these pronouncements. [passage omitted]

Wieslaw Gornicki [adviser to the chairman of the Council of Ministers in December 1981]. We were literally a step away [words indistinct] from the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War repeating itself. If you expect details, let me say that martial law did not at all improve our image in circles closest to us. On 1 March 1982, at 1015, I took part in a dramatic conversation between Jaruzelski and Brezhnev at the Kremlin, which I will remember for the rest of my life. Brezhnev ridiculed martial law as a dismal half-measure, and said bluntly that we ourselves were paying for the Ninth Congress, which had led us astray and which, sooner or later, would force us to negotiate with the counterrevolution. I cannot quote Jaruzelski's reply at this stage, but it was probably precisely at that moment that I decided to serve my commander-in-chief to the end and always, without the slightest doubt. So once again, could martial law have been avoided? No, not if we take into account the moods at that time and the uncontrolled approach to the verge of civil war. Yes, if those forces which 8 years later brought about a great, national agreement, had (predominated?) on both sides. It is probably clear that I use capital letters for over-emphasis, writes Wieslaw Gornicki in the POLITIKA survey. [passage omitted]

## Jaruzelski, Wujek Agree on 1981 Incident Probe

*LD1312122389 Warsaw PAP in English*
*0030 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met miners from the "Wujek" coal mine—representatives of the Solidarnosc factory commission—at the Belvedere palace here in tune with an invitation extended on December 2 when laying flowers at the foot of the cross commemorating the tragic death of miners on December 16, 1981.

The president thanked the Solidarnosc factory commission for its declaration on December 3 expressing full understanding for the intentions of paying homage to the fallen miners.

Both sides discussed the course of the events that led to tragic consequences. Fire-arms were used there by functionaries of the militia special squad despite a ban on the part of higher superiors in the situation of the highest tension in which emotional reactions prevailed. From among 156 shots, some were fired in the air, some under the miners' feet and finally some directly at miners, as a result of which 9 miners were killed. There were also many wounded miners and policemen.

Representatives of the "Wujek" coal mine stressed that they did not want either to inflict retaliation or to seek an act of revenge or to shape negative attitude towards law enforcers today. They said there was a need to explain in a detailed way how the defying of the clear ban on the use of weapons by militia functionaries, with tragic consequences, had taken place.

A decision was made to ask the Sejm extraordinary committee to examine the Interior Ministry's work, with a special regard to the case of miners from the "Wujek" coal mine. The President's Office, in agreement with the mine's management and the Solidarnosc factory commission, will take steps to take all necessary care of the families of the fallen miners.

### Council of Ministers Adopts Socioeconomic Rules

*LD1412124789 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1043 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 14—In small hours today the Council of Ministers adopted guidelines for socio-economic policy next year, the basis for which was put forth in the government economic programme published last October.

The strategic objectives of this policy will include systemic changes aiming at market economy, ownership transformations, full introduction of market mechanisms and institutions and de-monopolization of economics, reform of fiscal and banking system and introduction of convertibility of the Polish zloty, stabilizing activities aimed at fighting inflation and restoring economic balance, curbing wage hikes, and pursuance of a policy of stable hard currency exchange rates and of making the price structure more real.

The government programme has provided the basis for making settlements with the IMF.

The socio-economic policy guidelines for the next year underlay the financial documents of the state which the Council of Ministers adopted; budget bill, balance-of-payment bill, credit and monetary- credit plans, etc. The budget bill stipulates for 193 trillion zlotys, both on the side of expenditures and revenues alike.

Subsidy cuts, from 31 per cent down to 14 per cent of the state expenditure, will constitute a major element of the 1990 budgetary policies. The list of subsidized articles will be trimmed from 30 to 10 items. Upheld will be subsidies to coal, fertilizers, milk and milk productions and railway and inter-city coach transport.

It is planned, in rapport with the key lines of the monetary- credit policies, to provide an equal access to credits, to cut down the issuance of money and credit supply, desist from preferential credit interests, as well as some other steps.

### Spokeswoman Discusses Current Government, Issues

*LD1312220789 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1848 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[By Jan Rozdzynski and Malgorzata Tryc-Ostrowska]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—"We, Poles, constant rebels, as we were thought of the world over, are the prop of stability in Central and Eastern Europe today. It is so eight years after the imposition of martial law in Poland," said government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at a news conference here today.

Besides comments on the 8th anniversary of the memorable day, Niezabitowska informed journalists about the government's approach to Walesa's appeal for special powers for the cabinet, about the situation in the Ministry of Interior and results of fighting crime, about Western assistance for Poland envisaged for next year and about the future of the equipment for nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec (coastal Poland).

Finance Vice-Minister marek Dabrowski, also present at the conference, characterized the government's preparations for introducing radical changes in the economy next year.

#### Eight Years After

For the first time since the imposition of martial law in Poland, the anniversary may be observed openly, Niezabitowska stated. Former prisoners and those who signed arrest warrants sit side by side in the government today. It was possible to happen because the past eight years were a hard lesson for both sides.

We differ in assessments of December 13, the spokeswoman continued, but we are linked by the awareness of the necessity of changes. Will Poles stand it? Such questions can be heard from various sides. We answer: Poles restored their country and state after 123 years of partition, survived World War II, Stalinist period and martial law. Thus, we are capable of discipline and resistance. The motherland free, democratic and prosperous will be our award, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said.

#### Walesa Surprises Government

The government will not seek special powers for itself, because the parliament's support is of fundamental importance for us in the forthcoming changes, said Malgorzata Niezabitowska commenting on Lech Walesa's statement on special powers.

The government was surprised at the statement, the spokeswoman stated adding that the Council of Ministers would respect a suitable resolution inititated by deputies, for instance, and passed by the Sejm.

Niezabitowska underlined that she considers Walesa's appeal as a meaningful support for the government.

### Future of Nuclear Reactors for Zarnowiec

Niezabitowska announced that today the government took the decision to move two reactors, staying for a long time in the port, and assigned for the nuclear plant in Zarnowiec to the nearest army unit. The nuclear plant in Zarnowiec to the nearest army unity. The reactors are to remain there till final decisions on the future of the power plant are taken.

### Security Service Reduction

Depoliticizing and considerable strengthening of prevention services are the major directions of changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the government dealt with last Monday, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said.

Characterizing the alarming growth of common crime, she said that the Interior Ministry has to carry out genuine reforms of its structures to counteract the wave. The government is to consider the issue soon.

The spokeswoman announced also that so far the Ministry of Internal Affairs has liquidated six of its departments and their counterparts at lower levels, and the number of the Security Service employees dropped to 7,000. (Asked about the hitherto number the spokeswoman gave no answer).

The Civic Militia has gained 9,000 posts from the hitherto reorganization, but there are still 12,000 vacancies.

Telephone bugging, Niezabitowska stated, has been limited and restricted only to cases dealt with by the counterintelligence service.

### Crime Growth

Last October over twice as many burglaries were committed as in October 1988. Niezabitowska also said that presently there are by 73 percent more crimes against property than last year. The index of detectability of the crimes has dropped by some 10 percent to 54.5 percent this year.

The detectability of crimes against life and health totals some 90 percent.

### Skubiszewski At 24 Group Meeting in Brussels

Asked what Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski is to say to the 2 group meeting in Brussels, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said that he will present a programme of radical economic changes in Poland. He is also to seek assistance in restructuring the banking and telecommuinications systems in Poland.

### Next Year's Assistance for Poland

Excluding food assistance, we expect aid of the value of 3.2 to 3.5 billion dollars, the spokeswoman revealed. The IMF stabilization loan will total one billion of the sum.

### Prison Riots

The government regrets what happened in some of the prisons. It appointed a special commission in the justice ministry to examine reasons for the riots, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said.

One of the reasons was softening of prison discipline and the state of some apathy of guards. The attitude of some people who promised amnesty in talks with prisoners also had a share in it.

It was a mistake to discuss these problems for too long and too openly in the parliament as well as to concentrate a large number of recidivists in some prisons, the spokesman stated.

### Economic Prospects For 1990

Characterizing expected changes in economy next year, Marek Dabrowski stated, among other things, that the drop in real wages may reach some 20 percent. Society will feel that mainly in the first half of 1990, especially at the turn of the first quarter.

The government also expects a 5-percent drop in production level. Envisaged is decrease in national income by 2-3 percent.

It must be taken into account that prices will grow by five times in comparison with the average prices this year. It is envisaged that prices in December 1990 will be higher by slightly over two times than those in December 1989.

Dabrowski cautioned that it will take place when all the government's plans, especially overcoming inflation and reducing it to 2 percent, are realized.

The vice-minister discussed also a number of draft laws prepared by the Council of Ministers concerning, among other things, employment, agricultural and credit policies, state payment balance, etc, which will be soon filed with the Sejm.

Dabrowski announced that in coming days, at the end of negotiations with the IMF, the government will convey the so-called letter of intentions to the IMF.

## Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Addresses Sejm

*AU1112123389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 89 pp 1-2*

[Speech by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at Sejm meeting in Warsaw on 7 December]

[Text] Madam speaker! May it please the house! Contemporary Europe is undergoing profound and lasting transformations. Such transformations are occuring above all in Central and Eastern Europe. This brings about, as a consequence, significant changes in the attitude of Western Europe to the other side of the continent. It is in the interest of Poland that any revision of both internal and international order existing up till now should take place in the course of evolution and do so gradually.

The moment the GDR entered, after a long period of dictatorship, the path of democratization, a problem of closer relations between the two German states had to emerge. However, we remember that in modern times, the Polish nation has had the worst possible experience with the German Reich united by Otto von Bismarck and with its successor the Third Reich. Hence, nobody should be surprised that our reminscences concerning the unity of the German state are not positive and have an impact on the current thinking. However, history is not and cannot be the decisive factor determining the attitude to today's reality and a factor which would determine the shaping of reality.

Europe is changing. We do not negate these changes. We want them and we are co-creators of them. However, we must look after our state interests. I think that it interplays with the European interests. The present Polish Government, led by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has already done much to return to Poland its due place in Europe.

Why am I talking about the Polish raison d'etat? I am doing it not only from the perspective of a neighbor of the German nation, a neighbor that is not indifferent to anything German. I am talking about the Polish raison d'etat; because it was a fundemental omission in the 10-point program that Chancellor Helmut Kohl presented in the Bundestag, the German parliament, on 28 November, when he remained silent about the issue of borders with the neighbors of both German states, and particularly Poland. This omission was not compensated for by a general remark in point number 6 of the program, pointing to the, I quote, 'unlimited respect for sovereignty and safety of each state', end quote. Sovereignty also means territorial sovereignty, it is obvious. Nevertheless, the so-called legal pronouncements of the FRG, its court verdicts, and administrative acts do not dissocciate themselves from the borders of 1937. Thus, the question arises: How does the chancellor's program treat the sovreignty of Poland's territory in its current shape?

At the same time, the readiness of the FRG to develop, as the program puts it, confederative structures, encompassing two states in Germany, does not eliminate the avoidance of the issue of borders. The creation of a confederation, that is, a union of states, always took place with the preservation of existing borders. The same applies to the creation of a federation, that is a state made up of an association of states [panstwo zwiazkowe]. The phrase: two states in Germany, which we find in the program, can be understood as prejudging the external borders of the future union of these states. That is because it can be seen as indicating that the union is taking place on the basis of the territorial status quo, so in the case of Poland, it would respect the line of the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement and the later delimitation and demarcation agreed with the GDR, as the western border of our state. The FRG gave its consent to the Oder-Neisse line as the western border of Poland, in the normalization treaty of 1970.

Nevertheless, what I just said, in fact, about the phrase: two states in Germany, being understood in this way, is just a hypothesis. A hypothesis, because point five in the program says simply nothing about the border. Apart from this, the employment of the concept Germany, Deutschland, once again leads us to a question: Germany in which borders? Does Germany territorially mean the FRG and the GDR, or does it mean something else? Thus, there are serious question marks here, and because they exist, can a program encompasing such ambiguities be taken into account? Can we approach such a program uncritically? After WWII, no peace treaty was signed either with Germany, when Germany still existed subject tot he occupation of the four powers, or with the two existing German states. Let me remind you that the Potsdam agreement, concerning the western border of Poland, does not cite a peace treaty, but makes use of a wider, less precise concept, namely the concept of the peace regulation, or, in a different form, a peace settlement, in the English original, peaceful settlement.

Such a regulation or settlement may be achieved through a series of treaties, both bilateral ones and multilateral ones, without a traditional peace treaty. The matter of the Polish-German border was normalized a long time ago in just such a way—in treaties of which not a one was a peace treaty and certainly did not have to be. And if one day a peace treaty with Germany should come about, then it can only confirm that which has already come to pass.

The Polish nation, the Polish society, has, therefore, no reason to worry about Kohl's program as far as borders are concerned. Practically all European states confirm that our western border is settled, is permanent. Some European states, after the announcement of Chancellor Kohl's program, put this question quite clearly: Why does the program not mention the Oder-Neisse as the eastern border of the proposed unification?

Just lately Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the federal minister of foreign affairs, said—and this was on 27 September at the UN General Assembly session—that the Polish nation should know, and I quote, that its right to life within secure borders will not be questioned by us Germans, neither now nor in the future through any territorial claims, end quote. These words figure also in the Bundestag resolution of 8 November, which preceded the successful visit of Federal Chancellor Kohl in Warsaw.

A turnaround in the future, though it be general, could indicate a new situation on German territory in its future shape. But then there arises the question: Why don't these words—as they have already been spoken—figure in a document as important as the chancellor's program. I put these questions, may it please the house, not because I am worried about the fate of Poland's Western border. The border on the Oder-Neisse is part of the European order. In a Europe seeking unification, this border is a significant factor. One can only unite within established borders and without territorial disputes; Poland has no such disputes with anyone.

So what is the point of this silence in the program? The program of the unity of the German nation becomes unrealistic when it sets aside the territorial situation and does not mention this situation. This passing over in silence introduces ambiguity where the real legal position is not ambiguous at all. Let us go further: Is the unification of the two German states at all realistic?

Much, very much depends on the way the situation in the GDR develops. Poland does not question the right of the German nation to self-determination, the right of that nation in this or that part of it, or even taken as a whole. But the right of the German nation to self-determination will not take place in a political vacuum. The right to self-determination was usually implemented with strict regard to other considerations. That's how it was with the self- determination which, in 1918 and in 1919, was supported by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, and that is how it was with the fairly recent self-determination in Africa, something to which the West Germans occasionally refer; in Africa, countries emerging from colonial empires accepted borders determined by their colonizers. This was almost a rule, called "regula uti possidetis."

So, as far as self-determination is concerned, there is no such thing as a definitive and absolute rule, despite the fact that one should place self-determination high on the list of legal and political principles.

The federal chancellor is well aware of the fact that his program gives rise—as he himself says—to particularly difficult questions to which we cannot as yet give definite replies. The chancellor is right in mentioning here—and here, I once again quote—first and above all the matter of broad security structures in Europe. This is the 10th point in his program. Let me say a few words on this subject. During his visit to Poland, both the chancellor and the federal minister of foreign affairs assured us that any change regarding the two German states would not violate anybody's security, and in particular would not violate the security of the Germans' neighbors. We accepted these assurances in good faith, but now when the issue of unification is being put forward, we must demand a clear and unconditional stand in the matter of borders.

And speaking of security—and this is something the chancellor himself brought up—it is difficult not to mention another, fundamental question. And this is the question: How to reconcile the unification of two German states into one legal and international organism or even a state organism, with the mutual strategic security of the superpowers, especially when the whole thing is taking place on one of the territories of decisive significance in the superpowers' relations, that is in Europe.

This is one of those areas. There are not many such areas in the world. And the program does not give an answer to this question. Meanwhile, without at least certain adjustments in this respect, the program as a whole may, in contrast to some of its points...must hang in the air, without the final, most significant points.

The mutual security of the superpowers in Europe is a fact which various European states may judge in various ways, but it is a fact which belongs to European political realities. I do not think that the unification of both German states could take place prior to significant changes in the global strategy of the powers. That is because the federal chancellor's program assumes a significant change in the existing political, military, and territorial system in the heart of Europe. According to this program, in time a new power would arise in this heart, a German power. We are, therefore, having to deal with a great problem of world politics. This is not just German bilateralism, or even more so, an issue concerning the position of one state and its policies, namely the FRG. The elements of the strategic security of the superpowers are, on the one hand, the bilateral USSR-GDR alliance and the participation of the GDR in the Warsaw Treaty, and, on the other hand, the participation of the FRG in the North Atlantic Treaty and in the military organization of this treaty, NATO.

May it please the house, history does not know cases of confederations, not to mention federations, where the members are part of different alliances and different military organizations.

But the coin has another face. The coming together of the two German states will no doubt occur. This is one of the results of the changing situation in Europe. We have reason to assume that the GDR will not reject some of the suggestions contained in Chancellor Kohl's program. These include suggestions concerning interstate cooperation. There was talk on the GDR side of unity envisaged by treaty, vertrags Germeinschaft.

And the chancellor, naturally picked up this thought. Such unity inevitably leads to joint institutions. However, I think that we should view the entire new development calmly and from an appropriate perspective. Our state interests and our raison d'etat we associate with the European attitude. We support the ideas of a united Europe and the implementation of this idea through cooperation and integration of European states. The changing relations between the German states should be part of the unification of Europe and achievements in this area on the scale of the entire continent.

The mutual relations between the German states cannot procede these efforts and achievements. To a certain extent they can be parallel to them, but European unification should always be paramount. Because the state unity of the German nations has become also a matter of the whole of Europe, and particularly of the neighbors of the German nation. This is not a two-sided but a multi-sided issue. The decisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the entire process of cooperation created by this act in particular are conclusive in this respect.

In other words, the issue presented by the FRG Government is very complex. United Germany will not come into being either tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. In this respect the concern and fears which sometimes surface also in our country are not justified, although alertness is advisable. Generally speaking, one should not be afraid of evolution in Europe as long as it is happening while democracy and human rights are respected and it is happening in an orderly fashion. We have ourselves provided a large contribution into this evolution and are still contributing to it.

The same the way the issue of borders should be separated from the issue of unity of the German nation, our relations with the two German nations are a different matter to mutual links and relations between these states. Our recent agreements with the FRG, namely the joint statement of both heads of the government of 14 November, the international agreements signed on 10 November, as well as the chancellor's letter on economic issues of 14 November and, generally speaking, the entire course of Chancellor Kohl's visit were a very needed change and enormous progress was made in mutual relations on the government and state platform which had been paralyzed in the recent years. The implementation of everything we have jointly agreed will benefit Europe and stable relations on the continent.

Stabilization is a condition of progress in European disarmament, with all positive consequences of it such as the reduction of troops on our continent and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories. The stabilization I am talking about covers to an equal degree and, perhaps above all, the borders and the territorial status quo. The recognition of Poland's western border without understatements, as we have always emphasized, is a fundamental premise of Polish-German reconciliation. This elementary truth concerns both German states and the political forces active in them. That is why it is our duty in today's situation to point out this truth. I think that such a presentation of the issue and our entire policy aimed at transformations and detente in Europe consolidates our external security and progress in our systemic transformations. All programms must respect this policy and must not lead either Europe or ourselves off this path. This, I think, should be our vision, a vision without fears of the future.

Thank you, madam speaker. [applause]

## Rakowski Receives Group of U.S. Businessmen

*LD1112232489 Warsaw PAP in English 2236 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11—PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski recieved here today a group of U.S. businessmen headed by David Chase, Elie Zborowsky and Ronald Lauder who are now in Poland in connection with the establishment of the Polish-U.S. company "Polska Telewizja Kablowa" (the Polish Cable Television).

The talks focussed on the socio-political situation in this country and the prospects of cooperation between American financial circles and Poland.

## Embassy Official Charges GDR Discrimination

*LD1312225689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Late this evening Kazimierz Szablewski, counselor at the Polish Embassy in Berlin, appeared on the GDR television second program, raising the issue of restrictions imposed by GDR authorities on Poles coming to that country. This is not the first instance in the history of our relations. Decisions that were supposed to have protected the GDR domestic market have liberated arbitrariness among its residents and at times even open hostility toward Poles. The Polish diplomat reminded his audience that our country had never used restrictions in spite of the fact that our market situation was incomparably more difficult. He also recalled the humanitarian assistance rendered to GDR citizens wanting to leave for the West. Our embassy representative expressed hope that this unnatural situation would change soon and the GDR Government would continue to maintain relations of good-neighborliness and friendship with Poland.

## Italian Republican Party Leader, Group Visit

### Received by Mazowiecki

*LD0612231589 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 6—Wednesday was the second day of the Polish visit paid by a delegation of the Italian Republican Party. The Italian visitors continued today their talks with the leading representatives of Poland's political and economic life.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received General Secretary of the Italian Republican Party Giorgio la Malfa. The meeting was attended by Chairman of the Democratic Party CC Jerzy Jozwiak and Italy's Ambassador Vincenzo Manno.

The sides touched upon international issues, and mainly the question of Germany's reunification that should not bring about Europe's political destability. In this context the sides discussed the outcome of the Malta summit.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki also spoke about the current economic situation in Poland and measures planned by his government with a view to stabilizing the Polish economy.

Also today, La Malfa held talks with Vice-Premier Jan Janowski on economic issues and development of scientific and technological cooperation between Poland and Italy.

At a meeting with Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk, the sides discussed possibilities to expand cooperation in different fields of industrial production.

The Italian delegation also met with State Secretary in the Foreign Ministry Boleslaw Kulski.

**Press Conference**

In the evening, Giorgio la Malfa held a press conference. Present was Vice-Chairman of the DP CC Jozef Musiol.

We are observing with great interest and attention the democratic transformations taking place both in Poland and the entire Eastern Europe, La Malfa said, and we support them whole-heartedly. During our talks in Warsaw, we spoke about Italy expanding its assistance to Poland, mainly in economy.

In Italy, my party will back all these initiatives that will help Polish economy change into the market one, he stressed.

In reply to the question about the Italian Republicans' attitude toward the German issue, La Malfa said he saw and understood the Polish side's concern over the question of the Polish-German border. He also said that Italy had always supported the Helsinki Final Act which envisages the lasting character of the borders in Europe.

Referring to this problem, Jozef Musiol said that not questioning the right of the two German states to self-determination, the Polish side firmly came out in favour of the inviolability of the borders in Europe, including the Odra and Nysa border.

Our concern, Musiol said, is caused by views held by certain German politicians who claim that the borders were guaranteed by the German states separately but their final shape should be determined by a peace treaty signed with the united Germany. This stance is unacceptable for the Poles, he said.

### Meet Jaruzelski

*LD0712031189 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2247 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 6—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today General Secretary of the Italian Republican Party Giorgio la Malfa, who is now paying a visit to Poland at the invitation from the Democratic Party (DP) Central Committee.

The two stressed that the high level of the Polish-Italian cooperation in all fields constitutes an important contribution to the favourable shaping of all-European relations and helps construct a peaceful future for Europe.

Transformations now under way in Poland and in other countries of Eastern Europe as well as the climate of dialogue and detente in the East-West relations create favourable conditions for building a common European house, they said. The full respect for the post-war borders, identity and sovereignty of states presented by all participants in this process provides the basis for mutual confidence and stability in Europe.

The meeting was attended by chairman of the DP Central Committee Jerzy Jozwiak. Present was Italian Ambassador to Poland Vincenzo Manno.

### Hold Talks, Meet Rakowski

*LD0912112689 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2018 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—Today, the visiting delegation of the Italian Communist Party with its General Secretary Achille Occhetto was received by Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The sides noticed with satisfaction the favourable development of the Polish-Italian political relations and the animated economic, cultural and scientific exchange between the two countries. They also exchanged views on the international situation and changes now going on in Europe.

The meeting stressed that the inviolability of the borders established after the 2nd World War constituted a basis for the peace order in Europe.

The Italian visitors were also received by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Also today, General Secretary Occhetto continued his talks with First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party PUWP CC [Central Committee] Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. Occhetto was interested in developments at the Polish political scene and how these processes were linked with the Soviet perestroyka, and in the Polish left wing's relations with parties of the left in Europe.

The Italian delegation met with PUWP CC Secretary Slawomir Wiatr to discuss the concept of transforming the PUWP in to a party of socialist, future-oriented and leftist character.

[Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT on 8 December, of which no video is available, broadcasts a similar report on Ochetto's meeting with Polish party leader Rakowski. The television report adds that a communique was published after their meeting which cites the "similarity of views of both parties' secretaries. Rakowski goes on to say in a recording: "The experiences of the Italian party are exceptionally valuable for us, especially now, in the period of transition to a new phase in the movement of the left in Poland. We are preparing for a congress, to create a new party, a socialist party, and all these experiences that have been gathered by the Italian party are exceptionally important for us. And I am personally pleased that after so many years, a renewed contact has been made with the Italian party, because in previous years there existed various sorts of contradictions, misunderstandings, and even conflictual situations."]

### Council of Europe's Bjoerck News Conference

*LD0812061489 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2257 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 7—A Polish visit by President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Anders Bjoerck is coming to an end.

While summing up his stay here, Anders Bjoerck told a press conference here today that the aim of the visit was to discuss conditions which Poland was to fulfil in order to become an equal-right member of the Council of Europe. Changes taking place in Poland make it possible for her to strive for the membership provided there is a new constitution, free elections are held and the penal code is changed.

Answering a question what paragraphs should be changed, Anders Bjoerck stressed it was necessary to replace one-party system with a multi-party one, and to guarantee rights of an individual with free and independent courts.

Granting the membership of the Council of Europe to Poland will surely meet numerous obstacles, said he. On the other hand, it is worth starting this process now. President Jaruzelski during a talk with me expressed a readiness to support this initiative as he thought Poland's membership in the Council of Europe was in tune with the national and international interest, said he.

Bjoerck also said that Tadeusz Mazowiecki would be the first Polish premier who would take the floor during a session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, to take place in January 1990.

While discussing benefits stemming from the membership in the Council of Europe, the president of the Parliamentary Assembly said they were as follows: participation in the international parliamentary life, making use of the Council convention and experts' aid, for instance, in natural environment protection. We want to offer a new and better life to European nations, said he.

He also reaffirmed the opinion he voiced during his talks here on the unification of Germany. In his opinion it would be significant for united Europe provided Poland's postwar borders are recognized. Poland's membership in the Council of Europe would undoubtedly be a guarantee. Tensions caused by the lack of recognition for postwar borders in Europe would be an argument against the process of liberalization and democratization, Bjoerck said.

Friday morning, the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe will leave Poland.

### Agriculture Minister Returns From Talks With EC

*LD0912134889 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2122 GMT 9 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—Minister for the living conditions in the countryside Artur Balazs returned to Poland today from the FRG and Brussels where he held talks with EC officials on assistance to the Polish agriculture.

Minister Balazs told PAP that he and EC officials agreed on the basic principles of managing the fund drawn on selling products sent by the twelve within the food aid for Poland. An important element of the agreement was the adopting of a proposal to establish a hard currency fund to finance purchases in the West of technologies and equipment for factories working for agriculture.

The fund drawn on selling the products coming within the food aid will help create new infrastructure at the Polish countryside, Balazs said. He added that the first meeting of the fund's supervisory board will be held still this year.

We also discussed export of Polish sheep to EC markets, the minister said. So far, the volume of the sales was strictly determined by the so-called quotas. We do hope that our arguments as to lifting those limits will be accepted, he said.

During the Belgian visit, the sides discussed their bilateral cooperation in food economy. A possiblity has emerged to establish cooperation in the export and processing of the Polish rape [crop used in animal feed and for oil], Balazs said.

The delegation visited the FRG at the invitation from the West German Agriculture Ministry. The sides held talks on assistance to the Polish agriculture, and mainly on a possibility to hand over to Polish farmers second-hand agricultural machinery worth 200 million Deutsche marks. We also spoke about the possible expansion of co-production of the Polish and West German farming machinery industries. The minister concluded.

### Mazowiecki Meets IMF European Branch Official

*LD0612042689 Warsaw Domestic Service*
*in Polish 2200 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has received Massimo Russo, director of the International Monetary Fund European Branch. Director Russo is heading the Fund's delegation, whose aim is to finalize negotiations of the adjustment program.

## Mazowiecki Receives IMF Managing Director

*LD1112213789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has received a delegation of the IMF, led by its managing director, Michel Camdessus. The guest stated that, if not for the conviction that the program being proposed by our government is the best of all possibilities, this meeting would not have taken place. The IMF wants to support this program, since this is indispensible for achieving success. Apart from international support, however, internal backing for the program is necessary. Michel Camdessus expressed the conviction that Polish society will understand the necessity of living through difficult months.

## IMF Officials, WFTU's Nemoudry Pay Visit

### Meet OPZZ Leaders

*LD1112214789 Warsaw PAP in English 1924 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11—Managing director of the International Monetary Fund Michel Camdessus met here today with Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz, the OPZZ press office announced.

The sides agreed upon continuation of working meetings of the government adjustment programme.

Also today the OPZZ leadership met with Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions Jan Nemoudry to discuss revolutionary transformations in trade union movement in the European socialist countries.

Stressed was the necessity to introduce fundamental model changes in the work of this greatest world union organization.

It was settled that a meeting of the European Commission of Trade Unions attended by representatives of various orientations of union movement from all European countries is to be held in Warsaw in March 1990.

### Discuss Ventures With Jaruzelski

*LD1112234489 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Michel Camdessus, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, here today.

Camdessus and vice-premier, Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz who was also taking part in the meeting told president about the advancement of the negotiations between Poland's Government and IMF, now in their final stage, concerning the adjustment programme.

Camdessus presented a programme of ventures to be taken by IMF, after the agreement on the adjustment programme is reached, to support the Polish package of economic reforms.

The president pointed to the close interdependencies between the processes of democratization and changes in the economic life. He stressed that positive economic effects, tangible for society are a crucial factor in reinforcing the climate of social confidence and support for the government programme of reforms. In this context the president stressed the significance of economic and financial and credit cooperation with abroad, particularly with IMF, for the success of the initiated restructuring of the economic system and for the economic development of Poland.

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Nov-4 Dec

*AU1212121489*

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 30 November to 5 December reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the United Polish Workers Party Central Committee, received Vladimir Brovikov USSR ambassador to Poland, on 2 December. (4 Dec 89 p 2)

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, received Lech Walesa, chairman of "Solidarity," on 29 November. (30 Nov 89 p 4)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received on 29 November the following new ambassadors: Obino Richard Haambote of Zambia, Lucas Pande Tavaya of Zimbabwe, and Rui Fernando Meira Ferreira of Portugal. (30 Nov 89 p 4) He received Lech Walesa chairman of "Solidarity," on 3 December. (4 Dec 89 p 2)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, attended a meeting of the Polish Defense Committee, on 1 December. (2-3 Dec 89 p 2)

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Central Committee secretary, received Nadim Abdel Samad (name as published), deputy secretary general and Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, on 29 November. (30 Nov 89 p 4)

Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting with Aleksander Hall, minister without portfolio responsible for social organizations and political parties, on 4 December. (5 Dec 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, received on 30 November Ernst Albrecht, prime minister of the government of Lower Saxony, who was accompanied by Walter Kirche, minister of economy, technology and communications, Burkhardt Ritz, minister of agriculture and forestry, and Klaus Otto Nasse, minister for foreign cooperation. (1 Dec 89 p 2) He received the main board of the Association of Poles Wronged by the Third Reich and Jerzy Ozdowski, the board's chairman. (4 Dec 89 p 2)

## Further Reportage on 11th Croat LC Congress

### TANJUG Reports 1st Day

*LD1312182889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—The work of the 11th Croatian League of Communists [LC] Congress, in which about 900 delegates and guests are taking part, began today, to the strains of "The Internationale," in the Great Hall of Zagreb's Grand Fair.

The congress was opened by Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, who greeted all those present and the guests, among whom are delegates of the central and provincial committees of the LC's of all our republics and provinces, and an LCY Central Committee delegation led by Boris Muzevic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Also attending the congress are delegates of the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army, and also those still alive who were participants in the founding congress of the Croatian Communist Party, veterans of the Communist and Workers' Movement of Croatia, representatives of all the sociopolitical organizations and communities in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia, as well as the representatives of this republic in federal organs, including Dr Stipe Suvar, Ante Markovic, Veljko Kadijevic, and Budimir Loncar.

A polemic on the proposed agenda, provoked by delegate Ivan Dzidic from the Zagreb LC municipal organization of Tresnjevka, started right at the beginning of the congress. He requested that the proposed agenda put forward by the Croatian LC Central Committee not be accepted, and he assessed that this is the result "of the work of the party bureaucracy", which has not taken account of the overall situation in the LC and in society as a whole. Dzidic also referred here to "the restricted field in which the Croatian LC operates" and pointed to the alternative movements and to "the counterrevolutionary activity of the leadership of the Serbian LC."

Instead of the proposed agenda, Ivan Dzidic requested that the first item be the responsibility of the party leadership for the situation in the LC and in society, and that the congress begin with the resignation of the leadership of the Croatian LC.

Asked by the president whether this is his personal proposal or one from his delegate base, Dzidic replied that he was proposing this in his own behalf. [passage omitted]

### Skundric Address

*AU1312180889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 89 p 3*

[Report on speech by Petar Skundric, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia in Zagreb on 11 December: "No Dilemma About Yugoslavia"]

[Text] The workers class and the citizens of Yugoslavia, members of all our peoples and nationalities, expect that the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will build the basic directions of a new strategy of socialist development and create conditions for a consolidation of Yugoslavia. This was stressed by Petar Skundric, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the imperative of the moment and an obligation from which the Communists must not desist. [sentence as published] However, a step in the direction of what is new is not possible unless we break away from political voluntarism and bureaucratic authoritarianism, delusions and errors, and the political practice that has brought us to a dramatic crisis, leaving deep traces and grave consequences in the moral, economic, and political spheres.

The more we delayed facing this truth, the worse the consequences and the deeper the crisis. Now it is surely clear to all that the bureaucratic concept of the development of socialism and the instruments on which it is built themselves generate the crisis and lead to disintegration. Therefore they must be abandoned, and abandoned in the interest of socialism, democracy, and progress of Yugoslavia.

The absurdity of some solutions in the national political system and bureaucratic willfullness have been manifested in Kosovo with particular acuity, favored by the backwardness and lack of development of this region. They have led to an outburst of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which in its escalation has even assumed terrorist forms and has jeopardized the very integrity of the Yugoslav state. The present determination by Kosovo Communists to fully implement the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Kosovo provides a broad social basis for the restoration of interethnic trust and for a change in the situation for the better. However, for the success of these activities, it is indispensable that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's policy should be implemented much more consistently and uniformly within the whole of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It can be established with certainty that the disunity shown in this field prevents a more efficient stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and provokes broad conflicts in the Yugoslav sphere.

No dilemma on whether to preserve Yugoslavia or to destroy it exists for the Communists of Yugoslavia. The great majority of the population and a majority of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia members believe that Yugoslavia can survive only as a federation. We must therefore agree on organizing the federation as a modern and efficient social community and endowing it with the qualities possessed by other modern and progressive federal states.

The creation of conditions for the political interests that are being expressed outside the ethnic bounds and that are being included as such in the overall system of social decisionmaking is a necessity on the way to abolishing the monopoly of the bureaucracy and its misuse of the national interests for the purpose of preserving its own power. It is no wonder that the bureaucracy insists so fiercely on national differences and divisions, creates fear of common life, proclaims that pulling the peoples together means stifling national sovereignty, reduces the Yugoslav option to unitarian threats, describes federalism as patronizing, and divides and reshapes Yugoslavia and its citizens.

Political pluralism inherent in every democratic society has emerged on the political scene. We in the SFRY advocate pluralism as a democratic framework for integrating various interests in realizing our common aims in the development of democracy, self-management, and socialism.

## TANJUG Reports 12 Dec Session

*LD1312184489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 12 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At the second plenary session of the 11th Congress of the Croat League of Communists [LC], the list of candidates was established for the organs of the Croat LC and of the LCY from the Croat LC. The introductory report on behalf of the nominating commission was delivered by Mira Korkut-Slatkovic, who stressed that the list was drawn up on the basis of the broad direct secret ballot in all basic organizations of the Croat LC, in which 203,000 members of the LC took part. [passage omitted]

Delegate Ivan Dzidic addressed a question to the candidate for president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, Ivo Druzic, who was quoted as saying at one of the LCY Central Committee sessions that Slobodan Milosevic was an able politician. Dzidic asked on the basis of what criteria Druzic thought that. In his reply, Ivo Druzic said that he does not agree with Comrade Milosevic on many issues, which does not mean that Milosevic is not an able politician; and, as for what I disagree with, there will be an opportunity for me to tell him about that at one of the coming sessions, Druzic said.

In the voting which followed, the congress approved the list of 106 candidates for the Croat LC Central Committee, of which 75 will be elected. Within that number there are also 2 candidates for president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium—Ivo Druzic and Ivica Racan—and 11 candidates for the executive political organ of which 9 will be elected. The lists of candidates for the statutory and supervisory commissions of the Croat LC were also approved. In drawing up the lists, account was taken of the fact that there should be 30 percent more candidates than the number to be elected. The congress agreed that on the lists of candidates for the LCY Central Committee and its organs from the Croat LC there should be 50 percent more candidates than the number to be elected. Thus 25 candidates are being proposed for the LCY Central Committee from the Croat LC from which the congress will elect 19. As delegates to the 14th Exraordinary Congress of the LCY, the Croat LC Congress will elect 60 from the 80 proposed. [passage omitted]

Further on in the session, Milika Stupar gave an expose' of the proposed changes and amendments to the Croat LC statute. According to her, the statute should make room for the building of an up-to-date and modern organization which can operate in the political system. She recalled that at the present juncture it is not possible to include in that document all that this task calls for. Besides, contradictory views on certain issues, such as political pluralism, have proved a limiting factor in drawing up this proposal. For this reason, the proposal is not final but will be adjusted to all the pending changes in the reform of society. Much of that will only be able to be included in the statute after the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has taken place.

According to Milica Stupar, the new statute affirms that the LC is realizing and proving its leading role in society in a new way—with programs and with their implementation. The LC is struggling in competition with other programs and ideas, observing at the same time the principles of a law-governed state.

Milica Stupar particularly underlined the fact that more than ever before the role of the member in creating and implementing the policy of the LCY is being stressed, and a factor contributing to this will be the possibility for the member to choose the methods of integration and involvement in the work of the organization. This statute envisages other possibilities for involvement and activity in addition to the work and territorial principles of organization.

## Electoral Commission Report

*LD1312184189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The 11th Congress of the Croat League of Communists [LC] continued work this morning by announcing the outcome of elections to the organs of the Croat LC and of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia carried out last night.

According to a report by the Electoral Commission 599 delegates took part in the voting for new Croat LC Central Committee. Of this, 21 ballots were invalid. The number of votes necessary for a simple majority was 300. Of the total of 107 candidates on the electoral list, only 67 received the necessary majority. The voting had to be repeated to elect the envisioned number of 75 new members of the Croat LC Central Committee.

The two candidates for the office of president of the Croat LC Central Committee, Ivo Druzic and Ivica Racan, received 500 votes each.

Of the total of 24 candidates for the new LCY Central Committee, the delegates elected 19. Of this number the 14th extraordinary LCY congress will elect 15 to represent the Croat LC in the new LCY Central Committee.

The following is the outcome of the voting for the Croat LC representatives in the new LCY Central Committee:

Mladen Zuvela (514); Slobodan Buncic (358); Luka Cupkovic (360); Dusko Dragun (428); Josko Alujevic (359); Stanislav Antic (373); Luka Belic (369); Vladimir Bizjak (361); Marijan Cingula (378); Zvonko Erak (450), Petar Franulovic (374); Branko Horvat (486); Stjepan Kapusta (401); Josip Kukuljan (385); Nikola Lapov (451); Ivan Mecanovic (399); Goran Radman (482); Ivica Segota (461); Joza Vlahovic (465).

The following were elected as proposed candidates for members of the LCY Statutory Commission: Petar Arbutina (431), Vice Babic (444); Ivan Bagaric (427).

The following are candidates for members of the LCY Supervisory Commission: Ante Sever (446); Ivan Smolcic (471); Filip Runjic (426).

## Delegates Elected

*LD1312191289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—By a secret ballot today, delegates at the 11th Croat League of Communists [LC] Congress elected 60 delegates to represent the Croat LC at the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. With 155 delegates elected in a previous secret vote at the Croat LC municipal electoral conferences, the Croat party organizations will be represented by 215 delegates at the upcoming LCY Congress.

## Racan Elected President

*LD1312184289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Ivica Racan was today elected president of the Croat League of Communists [LC] Central Committee. In a secret ballot at a constituent session of the new Croat LC Central Committee he received 41 votes and his opponent, Ivo Druzic, 29.

Out of 75 members of the new Croat LC Central Committee, 71 voted, 1 ballot paper was invalid, and there were 4 abstentions.

The new president of the Croat LC Central Committee was born in 1944 in Ebeschabach near Leipzig. He is a Croat by nationality. He has a degree in law and has been member of the LCY since 1959.

The new Croat LC Central Committee presidium will be elected at the next Central Committee session.

## CC Members Elected

*LD1312201189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegates to the 11th Croat League of Communists [LC] Congress today elected the new members of the Croat LC Central Committee in two rounds of voting.

The new Central Committee has 75 members. They are: Ivo Druzic (500), Branko Caratan (489), Boris Malada (471), Nada Cikovic (379), Zvjezdana Grudic (323), Ivan Matija (323), Ivica Racan (500), Jelica Bobic (318), Hela Dragovic (314), Ivan Hanzek (385), Dusan Plecas (356), Ivo Ancic (348), Ivan Babic (351), Slavica Babic (316), Milutin Baltic (330), Serdjo Baskijera (318), Dusan Bilandzic (436), Ivica Car (401), Mirko Cvjeticanin (334), Ivica Fabris (362), Josip Filipovic (342), Franjo Galekovic (312), Ante Gilic (?331), Josip Gudelj (394), Antun Ignac (343), Ante Jelcic (333), Marin Jurjevic (345), Igor Antoncic (301, Marija Babic (343), Darko Bakaric (341), Vera Ban-Markovic (301), Ivica Basic (338), Aleksandar (Miso) Broz (481), Darko Crnkovic (315), Marija Erceg (349), Bozo Farkas (305), (305), Bozidar Francic (383), Ivan Galjer (304), Dragutin Grdjan (304), Zeljko Habek (378), Ivo Jelavic (378), Ivica Jercinovic (317), Branko Jurlina (350), Ante Krstulovic (341), Markov Lolic (417), Zdenko Mance (374), vili Matula (324), Luka Obradovic (303), Joze Peric (332), Jure Premuz (318), Boris Santo (344), Ivan Sifter (335), Zdravko Tomac (430), Sveto Letica (361), Jelena Lovric (396), Ivan Markovic (307), Luka Miletic (454), tatjana Oluic-Music (326), Anton Perusko (325), Nada rudan (319), Zorica Stipetic (419), Marija Sola (378), Lordan Zafranovic (415), Ratimir Zanetic (346), Ivica Zupetic (317), and Branko Zuza (361).

All were elected in the first round of voting, and in the second, repeated round for members of the Croat LC Central Committee the following were also elected: Tomo Bacelic (414), Mirjana Bezbradica (402), Silva Bukvic (391), Boris Garaj (384), Danijel Veres (377), Bozo Capeta (387), Ignjatije Milobabci (359), and Jadranka Visnjic (428).

New members of the supervisory and statutory commissions of the Croat LC Central Committee were also elected at the same time.

## Multiparty Elections Approved

*LD1312185189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegates to the 11th Congress of the Croat League of Communists [LC] this evening adopted the final document entitled "Basic Directions of Activity of the Croat LC in the reform of society and of the LC."

The Croat LC is decided on the reform of socialism, the development of multiparty political pluralism, and reform of the LC in keeping with the new conditions. The struggle for democratic socialism in conditions of pluralist democracy calls for the transformation of the LC into a modern political organization which competes for the support of citizens and working people, the document stresses.

The Croat LC is prepared to stand in elections against other political programs and candidates, the final formulation reads in connection with the initiative of the Croat LC Central Committee that the Croat LC is also prepared that elections be brought forward. The congress did not approve the formulation to bring forward the elections, only the orientation in favor of elections in pluralistic conditions. The regular deadline for elections in the republic is the month of April.

### Delay of LCY Congress Urged

*LD1312210989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2041 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegates to the 11th Congress of the Croat League of Communists [LC] this evening called for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress to be postponed because the appropriate preparations have not been carried out within the planned time limits, nor have the necessary documents been drawn up, nor the necessary political debates and agreements carried out in the LCY. This demand was approved with only nine abstentions. [passage omitted]

### Presidium Elected

*LD1312234189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2042 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session this evening during the break in the work of the congress, the Croat League of Communists [LC] Central Committee elected the new members of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium.

The following were elected by secret ballot as new members of the Presidium: Branko Caratan, Boris Malada, Ivan Grzetic, Nada Cikovic, Zvezdana Grudic, Ivan Hanzek, Ivan Matija, and Dusan Plecas.

There were a total of 10 candidates on the list. Ivica Racan, president of the Croat LC Central Committee is a member of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium ex officio.

### 13 Dec Session Report

*LD1412032089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The plenary session of the 3d day of the Croat League of Communists [LC] Congress began with an explanation by Milica Stupar of the proposed changes and amendments to the statute. This debate began on the previous day, during which demands were made for far more radical changes. Milica Stupar repeated the explanation given yesterday, underlining that the proposed changes and amendments to the statute reflect the demands put forward both in the precongress debate among the membership and also in the discussions at the congress itself.

This stand gave rise to further requests from numerous delegates to speak. The first 10 participants in the debate noted that there exist not only differing but in fact opposing views. Some consider that the proposed statutory changes lag far behind the needs of the times, and that if they are adopted it will mean "the political death" of the LC.

In the view of others, more radical changes will destroy all that has been built and achieved so far.

Tomislav Jontol considers that in the social circumstances of political organizations wanting to win the support of voters and take power under equal conditions, the LC may continue as a Bolshevik organization of the class vanguard, ideologically closed, hierarchically organized, and to operate as it has done until now. This, however, would mean the "political death of the LC". Evidence of this are the events in Eastern Europe. Jantol underlined that the LC cannot struggle with the latest challenges in its present organization. Those who are seeking democracy are saving Yugoslavia, Jantol stressed, and offers five fundamental goals which, in his view, should be included in the statute. These are: the abolition of democratic centralism, the abolition of atheistic conditions for membership of the organization, the territorial principle of organization, the democratic right of the membership to elect office holders, and the abolition of the right of leaderships to alter election lists. [passage omitted]

The statement by the next seven delegates and numerous rejoinders indicated that the differences in views are not finding common ground on the question of the depth and extent of the changes to the Croat LC statute. Some delegates also warned that before making profound changes in the Croat LC statute, an answer should be sought on whether the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress will take a stand on the question of political pluralism for the whole LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

As a way out of the procedural problems, the proposal was adopted that this session for now only endorse the statutory provisions relating to the structure and name of the Croat LC, and that the debate on other provisions of the statute should continue together with the discussion and the adoption of the main political document of the congress on the tasks of the Croat LC in the implementation of reform in society and in the LC. This was approved.

In the continuation of their work, the delegates adopted the report on the work of the Croat LC Central Committee and its organs between the two congresses and the report on the work of the statutory and supervisory commission of the Croat LC Central Committee.

Expounding on these reports, Mirjana Pocek-Matic said that in the public debate these documents were accepted by the membership. In the course of the work in the commissions, five delegates gave their comments on the reports on the work, which according to Mirjana Pocek-Matic included criticism of the leadership because of the so-called Croatian silence, reaction to intranational relations in the country, and hesitation in that reaction, and one delegate considered that the report did not say enough about Kosovo. Following the adoption of the report on the work, the current members of the Croat LC Central Committee, of the Presidium, and of the statutory and supervisory commissions were relieved of their duties. [passage omitted]

Turning to the congress participants at the close of the day's work, Stanko Stojcevic said that at this congress the clearly formulated reform line and firm orientation for democratic socialism has won. This will make the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia more stable and Yugoslavia more stable and strong, and will enable us to play an equal role in the world, closer to the most progressive trends.

This will prove that we have remained true to the orientations of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and to the principles of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia, to the idea of socialism. By widening the space for democracy and pluralism we will facilitate and give a chance to the socialism which we are developing in the interests of our own nation.

The congress participants were then addressed by Ivica Racan, newly elected president of the Croat LC Central Committee. He noted right at the beginning that after the congress, Communists of this republic will face the difficult task of realizing some of the reform decisions of the congress, as was so fully noted at the congress.

We are aware that the final judgment on this gathering will be shown in the practice of Communists themselves. Much effort and responsibility will be needed to put the reform orientations into effect and for us to show that their orientation for political pluralism is not simply on paper; rather, that this is their internal need, and that they are thereby proving the vitality of the idea of socialism and communism in competition with other ideas and stands, and that Croat Communists wish to affirm and establish their social position and historical legitimacy in free democratic elections.

We are aware, Racan underlined, that the reform orientations defined at the congress call for effort to complete the work on the program, for statutory and organizational orientations of a reformed LC, and for us to contribute to such processes in the LCY.

For Croat Communists, the reform position and program which they are offering the working people and citizens of this republic are a constituent part of the reform of socialism in Yugoslavia and of its meaning on the soil of Yugoslavia. We are answerable to our own nation and to the SFRY as an equal community to which we wish to make our contribution.

It is unlikely that anyone will dispute that a major step for social reform has been made at this congress. I am sure that on behalf of the new Central Committee and the congress delegates we can tell the Communists of Croatia, the working people and citizens of this republic and elsewhere, that at this congress we have been thinking seriously and that we will prove this in the period after the congress. We are aware that it will be difficult to justify the trust put in us, but we will endeavor to realize the stands of the congress. [passage omitted]

## Congress Concludes

*LD1412031489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0114 GMT 14 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 13 (TANJUG)—The Communists of the second biggest Yugoslav republic, Croatia, closed their congress here on Thursday [as received] evening with the demand for striking down from the Federal Constitution the article on the leading role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

The three-day congress, attended by about 600 delegates and described by outgoing Croatian party leader Stanko Stojcevic as the victory of a clear orientation towards reforms and democratic socialism, also proposed the removal of the article on democratic centralism.

The meeting also proposed the reviewing of the provisions on LCY organization in the economy, social and state bodies, and the necessity of changing the name of the LCY.

The delegates also demanded the postponement of the 14th special party congress, to be held in late January in Belgrade, because, they said, adequate preparations had not been carried out within the planned deadlines.

In its closing document, the congress said that the Croatian party calls for narrowing the powers of the Yugoslav federation, but advocates the strengthening its abilities for effectively carrying out the agreed functions.

The Croatian Communists also demanded a more distinct line to be drawn between the responsibilities of the federal organs, those in the Republic of Serbia and those in its troubled southern Kosovo Province for the situation in Kosovo-all on the foundations of a single Yugoslav program.

They underscored that the curbing of the inflation is the major task of the economic and development policy.

Newly elected Croatian party chief Ivica Racan (46), also a member of the federal party leadership, concluded that the Croatian party's orientation towards political pluralism is a democratic confirmation of the vitality of the concepts of socialism and communism.

### Belgrade Workers To Strike 20 December

*AU1312203989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] The Presidium of the Trade Union Council of Belgrade has decided that a 1/2-hour general strike of all the workers of Belgrade be organized at 0800 on 20 December, because the justified demands by the workers and the conclusions of the Belgrade Trade Union Council are not being realized.

During the 1/2-hour general strike of all the employed Belgrade people, the functioning of the most vital services in the city will be ensured. Workers will once again draw attention to the unanimous proclamation addressed to the SFRY Assembly meeting on 20 December.

After the conclusion of the SFRY Assembly session, the Presidium of the Belgrade Trade Union Council together with the communal councils will assess whether the demands will have been met, and decide about further action on that basis.

Unless the demands of the workers are met, representatives of the work organizations and Trade Unions will meet in the Trade Union Hall immediately after the SFRY Assembly meeting, and invite the most responsible holders of office in the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council to explain the measures adopted in the SFRY Assembly. The Trade Unions will then decide whether the strike should continue.

The Presidium of the Belgrade Trade Union Council has decided to organize the strike because of the deterioration of the economic and political situation in the country and because the justified demands by the workers are not being met.

### Presidency To Brief Assembly on Situation

*LD1312201689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has decided, because of the situation in the country and at the request of the SFRY Assembly, that at the next Assembly session, it will present its stands on certain questions relating to the state of internal politics, and in particular with regard to the coordination of the common interests of the republics and autonomous provinces. The SFRY Presidency will also brief the SFRY Assembly in detail about the situation and about problems in domestic and foreign policies. The date for the presentation of the report by the president of the SFRY Presidency on these questions will be fixed subsequently, says the statement from today's session of the Presidency which reads as follows:

"The SFRY Presidency at a session, presided over by President Dr Janez Drnovsk, discussed a preliminary draft proposal to start changes to the SFRY Constitution by adopting a new Constitution. The SFRY Presidency drew up the text of the draft and immediately it will be sent to the presidencies of socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, in order to canvass their views and make suggestions, after which it will be discussed once again at a session held with presidents of the presidencies of the republics and provinces. The definitive text of the proposal to start changes to the SFRY Constitution by adopting a new Constitution will be established by the SFRY Presidency, and will be sent to the SFRY Assembly for further proceedings.

"The SFRY Presidency also discussed a report about a recent visit by Dr Janez Drnovsk, president of the SFRY Presidency, to the FRG. It was established that this visit and talks which the president of the presidency held with Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the Republic, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other leading political personalities, presented a stimulus for a further development of overall relations and cooperation, and in particular in the economic area.

"It was judged that during the visit both countries had manifested interest in improving bilateral cooperation, in particular because of the ties established so far and the orientation of the two countries toward cooperation, but also because of the contribution Yugoslavia made to positive processes in international relations in Europe and its independent and constructive role in the world.

"Assessing talks on events in Europe, and in particular on European integration processes, the SFRY Presidency pointed out the significance of the FRG readiness to offer assistance to Yugoslav efforts to establish stronger cooperation with European bodies, and in this way create conditions to open up more speedily toward world markets through the modernization of its economic structures.

"The SFRY Presidency decided in connection with the situation in the country and at the demand of the SFRY Assembly, on the basis of Article 318, item 2 of the SFRY Constitution, that for the next session of the SFRY Assembly it will present in writing its stands on certain questions of internal policy, and in particular in connection with harmonizing shared interests of the republics and provinces in accordance with their authorities in realizing rights and duties of the federation. The SFRY Presidency will also, in accordance with its conclusions from recent sessions, make a comprehensive report to the SFRY Assembly on the situation and problems of internal and foreign policy. The date for the report by the president of the SFRY Presidency on these issues will be set later."

### What Slovenes, Serbs Think of Break of Ties

*AU1312141989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 89 p 6*

[D.D. report: "Taking Public Pulse"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec—Ljubljana Varianta, which deals with market research and political polling [trzisno komuniciranje i politicki marketing], carried out a public opinion poll for MLADINA in Belgrade and Ljubljana on 2 and 3 December. The respondents were 140 telephone subscribers in each city. We report only the bare facts.

Asked what their opinion was of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia appeal for an economic and political blockade of Slovenia, Belgrade telephone subscribers responded as follows: 47.9 percent believe that the decision was correct and they support it; 23.6 percent believe that it was a wrong decision and do not support it; 28.6 percent say that they have not thought about it.

Asked what should be done if the Slovene people decide to separate from Yugoslavia, the answers in Belgrade were: 42.1 percent believe that the Slovene people alone should decide on this; 12.1 percent believe that the Slovenes may leave the country if they want to, but that the territory of Slovenia should remain within Yugoslavia; 20.1 percent replied that such a Slovene decision should be prevented by all means; 15.7 percent replied that they have not thought about it.

At the same time, Varianta asked Ljubljana respondent different questions. The first question read: How should Slovenia react to the aggravation of interrepublican relations? Of the respondents, 23.7 replied that Slovenia should secede from Yugoslavia; 49.3 percent said that Slovenia should make efforts for a confederation, with greater economic and political independence in Yugoslavia; 22.7 percent believe that Slovenia should make efforts to preserve present Yugoslavia and to normalize relations within it.

The second question read: If Yugoslavia were to break up, how should a Slovene state be set up? Of those polled, 48.4 percent were of the opinion that Slovenia should be a completely independent state; 16.1 percent believe that Slovenia should set up a independent state community with Croatia; 12.8 percent believe that Slovenia should set up a new state together with Croatia and Bosnia- Hercegovina; 8.2 percent with Austria or Italy; and 14.5 percent replied they did not know.

Ljubljana DNEVNIK also ordered a poll by Varianta on Serbian-Slovene relations.

Asked how Slovenia should react to the announced economic blockade by Serbia, 44.1 percent believe that Slovenia should reply with the same measures; 50.9 percent believe that aid to underdeveloped regions should be stopped; 27.8 percent believe one should behave as if nothing had happened; 10.8 percent believe that one should respond in some other way, and 3.3 had no opinion.

## BORBA Opinion Poll on Country's Defense

*AU2011090989*

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 30 October on page 6 carries a 3,000-word article by Slobodanka Bakic under the title "One Defends What One Likes," on an opinion poll conducted by BORBA on how people are prepared to defend the borders of the country. The date of the poll is not given. The 240 respondents were chosen at random from the telephone directory, 40 from each republic, which included 10 each from three large towns of each republic plus a control group of 10. The article presents the results of the poll in a bar diagram and a table.

The diagram shows the responses to the question "Would you defend all the borders of our country?" in percentages, some of which can be read from the diagram only approximately, as follows:

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Montenegro | 97.5 | 2.5 | 0 |
| Macedonia | 90 | 2.5 | 7.5 |
| Bosnia-Hercegovina | 87.5 | 7.5 | 5 |
| Slovenia | 80 | about 5 | about 15 |
| Croatia | 80 | 10 | 10 |
| Serbia | 74.5 | 20 | 5.5 |
| SFRY | 84 | about 10 | about 6 |

The figure for Serbia is given in the text as 84.5 percent, but the bar in the diagram is clearly shorter than that for Slovenia or Croatia, and the figure for those in Serbia who would not defend the country is given in the text as 20 percent.

The table shows the reasons given for a "resolute Yes to the defense of all the borders of the SFRY," and the reasons given for a "resolute No to the defense of all the borders of the SFRY," in percentages by republics, as follows:

| Reasons for Yes: | | |
|---|---|---|
| Croatia: | | |
| | 1. Patriotism | 69 percent |
| | 2. No special reason | 19 |
| | 3. Feeling of responsibility | 12 |
| Macedonia: | | |
| | 1. Patriotism | 55 |
| | 2. Preservation of brotherhood and unity | 15 |
| | 3. Existence of the community as a whole | 15 |
| | 4. Oath taken in the Army | 10 |
| | 5. Feeling of duty | 5 |
| Montenegro: | | |
| | 1. Patriotism | 44 |
| | 2. Feeling of duty | 40 |
| | 3. Existence of the community as a whole | 8 |
| | 4. Personal freedom | 8 |
| Slovenia: | | |
| | 1. Patriotism | 68 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 2. No special reason | 24 |
| | 3. Personal freedom | 8 |
| Serbia: | | |
| | 1. Patriotism | 86 |
| | 2. Personal freedom | 7 |
| | 3. Feeling of duty | 7 |
| Bosnia-Hercegovina: | | |
| | 1. Patriotism | 68 |
| | 2. Existence of the community as a whole | 14 |
| | 3. Realization of the present situation | 6 |
| | 4. Preservation of brotherhood and unity | 6 |
| | 5. Personal freedom | 3 |
| | 6. Feeling of duty | 3 |
| Reasons for No: | | |
| Croatia: | | |
| | 1. No special reason | 50 |
| | 2. Unequal conditions for defense | 25 |
| | 3. Personal reasons | 25 |
| Macedonia: | | |
| | 1. Realization of the present situation | 100 |
| Montenegro: | | |
| | 1. Impossible to defend SFRY in this age | 100 |
| Slovenia: | | |
| | 1. Pacifism | 50 |
| | 2. Personal reasons | 50 |
| Serbia: | | |
| | 1. Loss of faith in the future of SFRY | 62 |
| | 2. Realization of the present situation | 32 |
| Bosnia-Hercegovina: | | |
| | 1. Indignation at the present situation | 100 |

## Secretary Buncic Speaks on National Defense

*AU2711144589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 89 p 5*

[V. Ilic report: "Yugoslavia Is Defended With the Truth"]

[Text] Skopje, 20 Nov—The Army does have not any special interests which would be at variance with the interests of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. It always endeavors to adapt its whole development, doctrine, and view to the progressive trends of our social reality and the modern currents of civilizational development. It strives to be on the front lines of the struggle for the humanization and democratization of social relations, the constant development of society, and general progress. The Yugoslav People's Army even now endeavors to help social transformations and aspirations for a quicker discovery of solutions that will prevail over the crisis. This was stressed today by Major General Simeon Buncic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, at today's traditional meeting between Army leaders and editors and journalists of Yugoslav editorial boards which was organized in Skopje on the occasion of Army Day.

Mentioning that it is in the common interests for articles about the Army to be written in a professional, competent, socially responsible, and creatively inspired way, Buncic dealt also with certain publications that distort the picture of the Army framed by current social events in the country:

Under the guise of alleged critical consideration of the social role of the Army and its constitutional function, radical and nihilist views have been appearing and suggested, and crude untruths are being pushed forward. All vital characteristics of our Army, and particularly its populist and Yugoslav nature, are also being negated. While some people desire and demand that "the Army takes matters into its own hands" and impose "order and discipline" in the country, others deny it the right to its political individuality and demand that it be confined to barracks and undergo a so-called de-politization. There have also been increasingly frequent attempts to dismember the Army, split it into national armies and thus basically prevent it from carrying out its role in the defense of the territorial integrity and constitutional order of the SFRY. Certain publications whose political orientations are very well-known have not only created opportunities for the protagonists of these concepts but have also been directly included in a campaign that we have been witnessing for quite a long time, said Buncic.

Considering that in the last few months there have been problematic interpretations of the views and stands of the Yugoslav People's Army regarding the directions and content of the social reforms, General Buncic particularly stressed that the Army is being deemed conservative and dogmatic and "oriented toward some outmoded ideology," which, in the opinion of some of its critics, means that the Army could be a hindrance and even an obstacle to democratic processes and the all-encompassing social changes. Fear of the Army is even being unjustifiably sown in some places.

Our response is well-known, stressed Buncic. Army members have the obligation and right to participate in the life of society and to contribute to the changes and not to stand to one side and unconcernedly observe the events on which the fate of our society and its future depend. After all, the social role of the Yugoslav People's Army is very precisely defined by the SFRY Constitution—it is a joint armed force of all the peoples and nationalities and working people and citizens of Yugoslavia, and belongs to all of them to an equal extent. It is intended for the protection of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and socialist social structure of the country. It is willing to carry out this role properly.

Speaking about the Army's high social standing, Buncic said that everyone is aware of this—that is, both those who are glad about this and those who for particular reasons are scared of this standing. He pointed out the historical memory of the people, their conscience and consciousness that since its emergence until the present day the Army has been and remains inextricably linked with the people from which it developed, which it serves, and because of which it exists. This is the reason, thought Buncic, why the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia accept, consider, value, and love the Yugoslav People's Army as their own.

The Army is continually affirming its all-Yugoslav character as its basic decree, stressed General Buncic. In this tumultuous, almost dramatic, and fateful time for our society, the Yugoslav People's Army acts as an essential factor of stability and cohesion. The Army's past and present are not burdened by dark events.

Mentioning that the Army's standing in society depends on itself above all, the assistant federal secretary for national defense stressed that the media contributes to this to a great extent by communicating information to the domestic public in a prompt, comprehensive, and objective way on the essential issues of the life and work of members of the Yugoslav People's Army, the modernization and development of the Armed Forces, and achievements in realizing the concept of all-people's defense.

By affirming the truth about the Army, the media becomes its own kind of link between the people and the Army. It has made a great contribution to preventing the very dangerous and destructive tendencies that have overtaken almost the whole of society from being transferred into the sphere of its defense, stressed Simeon Buncic. Without avoiding major subjects and events, he added that we should never forget that life's central theme is the human factor of our defense. Without considering this human factor and people as individuals, we would be deprived of not only the great themes but the greatest ones.

Major General Simeon Buncic said finally that mutual expectations in future joint work were justifiably great. In his view, it is possible to fulfill them "on the condition that we meet as often as possible and that we encourage each other to carry out these responsible tasks in the best way possible."

The Macedonian journalists association and the command of the Third Army District were this year's co-organizers and hosts of the traditional meeting that is held in a different town every year.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

### Credibility Without Eulogies

The Army is endeavoring to formulate a more modern information-propaganda approach. The purpose of these efforts is for us to ensure a more dynamic flow of public information on the armed forces and its fuller compliance with the demands of the time in which we live. We will strive to more quickly meet your needs and to more quickly respond to questions which are of interest to the Yugoslav public. We oppose any form of apologist eulogy and we advocate the credibility of information and a constructive and critical approach to the problems of defense and security. This implies a mutual benevolent attitude and even better mutual knowledge and respect. (Simeon Buncic)

## People's Army LC Begins 9th Conference 23 Nov

*LD2611000189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1023 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The ninth conference of the Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA) League of Communists [LC] began in the JNA Club in Topcider today after the singing of "The Internationale." The top assembly of communists in the JNA is attended by 219 delegates and numerous guests including members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee delegation, Marko Lolic, Ugljesa Uzelac, and Dragica Zgrebec; representatives of the Federal Council of the Federation of the Associations of War Veterans land the Federation of Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia, federal Secretary for national Defense Col-Gen Veljko Kadijevic, and other individuals. A minute's silence was observed in memory of the miners who tragically lost their lives in the Aleksinac Mine.

The 2-day conference will, apart from debate the report on the activities of the JNA LC organization between the eighth and ninth conferences, consider the program of ideopolitical tasks and proposed changes and addenda to the statutory decision of the JNA LC Organization. Members of the Committee of the JNA LC Statutory and Monitoring Commission, will be elected from the JNA.

The president of the JNA LC Presidium, vice-Admiral Petar Simic, delivered an introductory address dedicated to the conditions under which the work of the JNA LC was carried out in the past period and the most important results of communists' activities in the Army. [TANJUG takes 2-5 not received]

Speaking about the financing of national defence, Gregoric warned that the needs of units' regular life and work were seriously threatened: Food, clothes, electricity, water, heating, health care, maintaining hardware etc...

For all these reasons all those who are by Constitution and law competent and responsible for the defense of the country must be asked the question—is this the way things must be and why is the Army's social role denied by such an attitude toward it?—Gregoric said and added that no kind of local social environment and interests should have a prevailing influence on determining the basic features of the country's defense among which the financing of the Army's needs in line with its role is one of the fundamental standpoints.

Gregoric also reflected on the use of internal reserves. Thanks to our own agricultural production we have practically reduced our expenditure from the budget; the demand for fresh meat for soldiers' regular nutrition has been reduced by 80 percent, the demand for fresh vegetables by 50 percent and for fresh fruit by 20 percent.

Speaking about all-people's defense and the armed forces in the process of our society's reforms, Anton Tus outlined two premises:

The country must be defended efficiently under all circumstances, today as well in the future, and the defense system and the Army are part of society and should develop in conjunction with it.

In considering external and internal factors of the country's military and political position and dangers that threaten it one of these two premises is often dominant. In our case it is our surroundings, that is, the external factor. Due to our nonaligned policy the external factor is becoming less significant leading to the present situation of rapid changes whereby the unpredictability of both factors has become a reality. This call, now and in the foreseeable future, for an adequate system of defense and armed forces, Tus stressed.

So far, we have been constantly upgrading the concepts of the country's defense and the development of the armed forces which in addition to the successful modernization enabled us to execute the tasks formulated by the Constitution. All these enabled us to reduce significantly our armed forces on two occasions over the past two years.

The changes in the country and in our vicinity and further afield and the reforms in our society are also inevitably leading to a new developmental conception of our armed forces and the JNA.

No fundamental changes should be expected in the context of the all-people's defense doctrine, it remains the defense which entails all society's forces and potentials on every inch of Yugoslav territory he stressed.

As far as the general structure of organization of the armed forces is concerned there is no reason either for fundamental changes, the JNA will remain to be the prime operative, task and maneuvering force, a modern army with appropriate peacetime forces, whose number will be lower and lower, and with more powerful fighting forces, Tus stressed.

The development conception of the JNA and armed forces must be adjusted to the new development conception of society. This will lead to a choice of crucial priorities in the development of the JNA, something that will have an influence on the commitment to programs that project a modern army.

In the course of this our ability to change, time, and efficiency are essential criteria for the success of development. In addition to JNA funds, funds for research & development should also be provided by all those in the country who are interested in research, development and production. There are no budgetary funds to ensure this, Tus stressed.

There is obviously a media war going on which has led to the disintegration of the unified information system in the country, Radojlo Janic said. Under such circumstances it is necessary to provide a uniform paper to keep staff in the whole Army informed so as to alleviate the negative effects the lack of unity in informing in the country has on its members.

Posing the question, can one think of a politically neutral and depoliticized Army or apolitical officers who would be just professional soldiers, Janic went on to say that the JNA will be able to assess responsibly potential dangers threatening the country only if it is politically trained. Such a delicate role could not be assumed by a depoliticized army, one with visions limited by the barracks.

The vital interests of Army staff in the situation in society constitutes an element and confirmation of its high conscience and combat preparedness, Janic expounded as he added that military vocation in our society is not one-sided profession nor is the officer a one-sided expert who could be activated "by pressing a button". After the assessment that the extreme demands for a different army were untolerable sectarian views and conceitedness out of all proportions, Janic said that our Army's members cannot be conscientious defenders of the homeland in all situations and circumstances without firm and well-founded orientations in values and attitudes. To all those who are advocating the depoliticization of the Army and its transformation into a strictly professional army we must answer: Only an army with political consciousness, raised on Tito's revolutionary work and imbued with Yugoslav patriotism and brotherhood and unity can be the Army of the SFRY, one of the safe pillars of its stability. Our Army has hitherto been national and revolutionary so there is neither reason for nor danger of its transforming itself into something else, Janic concluded.

The practice up till now confirmed that without good ideopolitical work and Marxist education, good results cannot be achieved in any field of activity, including development of moral and work characteristics of officers who are communists, Dimitar Arsovski stressed. [passage omitted]

We are witnessing that, apart from the economic and political difficulties, society is burdened by and buffeted with unchecked fury by forms of nationalism, which are also present in Army units. This imposes the need for even more consistent ideopolitical work and bulding-up of a moral personality of communists, Arsovski warned.

JNA communists oppose a multiparty system for a future Yugoslavia, Milan Gorjanc said. Some accuse such a resolute and clear stance to be dogmatism encouraging bureaucratic restoration of "the acquired privileged status" in the Yugoslav community and others want to count us as their political allies.

We are neither dogmatists nor anyone's allies, nor do we want to remain neutral. It is our communist, class, and even human duty to support, according to our best judgement, the true unity of nations and nationalities and all people living here, Gorjanc stressed.

The current verbal and active aggressiveness of champions of party pluralism, according to him, does not provide necesary guarantees and prospects for a happier life and a greater equality, that is, sovereignty of nations. Internal confrontations among the joint opposition of the alternative movement to the LCY and values and achievements of the hitherto joint life, fortells a great likelihood of a negative trend for the future of Yugoslavia.

In that context, we communists must say courageously that our former concept, or better to say our political practice thus far, did not yield expected results and that the working class and citizens justifiably are losing trust in our further successful rule with the present methods.

We cannot successfully fight battles with a united, more ideological than organizational alternative movement by categorically refusing to listen to their demands, while at the same time shyly offering a modification of existing concepts. Thereby, we leave the initiative in the opponents hands, and the working people in a dilemma. We cannot allow the alternative movement to win the power and then prove its inability to rule. We must win over the trust of the people, nations, and nationalities step by step with real, original communist activities, highly moral communists and concrete results, Gorjanc stressed and assessed that the provided concept of the LCY transformation is a possible basis for a different kind of communist activity and for an efficient implementation of its leading ideopolitical role.

Communists in the armed forces cannot accept the concept of party pluralism, because its adoption, according to Gorjanc, would mean either the break-up of the unity of Yugoslavia's defense system or total depolitization and professionalization of the armed forces.

The ideological and political unity of the all people's defense is a necessary precondition for its functioning, and thereby, for a successful defense of Yugoslavia from foreign aggression and a successful defense of the ruling position of the working class from its class opponent in the country.

Cohesion of all subjects, especially of individuals and nations as wholes, regarding the necessity of the defense and employment of all resources in a struggle, cannot be built on opposing party or national interests. That cohesion must be reached before aggression occurs and with the aim of its efficient diversion. This country and its nations cannot permit that this cohesion is created after a possible military or political defeat, Gorjanc cautioned.

Communists in the armed forces are advocating pluralism of political interests, competition of political ideas, full freedom and rights of people and nations. In that sense, they are ready to accept all ideas, especially well-meant ones, Gorjanc concluded.

Speaking about ideology in educational and training work in military schools and academies, Mate Pehar said that the complexity of social trends, problems in the ideological sphere, culture, science, information activity, as well as frequent attacks on the JNA—denials of its social character and valid social role, demands for the depolitization of the Army and its isolation within barracks, problems of standard and additional financing of JNA—are being negatively reflected on the conscience and behavior of individual communists and other JNA members, and thereby on the educaiton and training process in military schools and academies. [passage omitted]

Despite significant results achieved, Blagoje Adzic stressed, combat development in the past period did not develop as we wished, neither in volume nor structure. Several factors were influential here, the most important of them were the nominal and real reduction of the budget and high rate of inflation which is further reducing its real value. This had a crucial influence on the narrowing of the physical volume of technical modernization, giving up a good deal of the production progams of the military industry, as well as on the prolongation of the development of arms and military equipment and on significant restrictions in developing military installations of infrastructure and reducing all aspects of expenditure.

As a result of all these corrections and restrictions we are lagging behind in developing the most modern arms and military equipment and in equipping armed forces for two generations, nor at least 15, even 20 years. There is no need to stress the ways in which this is reflected in defense, Adzic said.

We live in times of deep social crises and changes. Their overcoming is in no sense unambiguous. In them and around them active are not only the proponents of progressive but also of regressive trends. These crises and changes are the consequences of progressive as well as regressive trends. The results are problematic. In these conditions the working class, nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia need more than before modern technically equipped and highly capable armed forces, primarily to function as a deterrent, he stressed.

It is true, Adzic continued, that in recent years there has been a relaxation of tension in international relations, particularly in relations between the superpowers, and some pacification of war and crisis centers. A new situation has been created in international relations. I consider, however, that it is early to make over optimistic predictions about features of the international community on the basis of these positive processes alone.

There are forces on the world political stage whose interests are served by military confrontation, rivalry for spheres of influence and interest, who attempt to maintain relations of domination and hegemony of international proportions by means of various military and nonmilitary, new and old methods. Hence the new situation in international relations is fluid and uncertain with possible reversals and changes. The security of our country should be seen in this context as well, he noted.

In parallel with the first steps in disarmament, the technical and organizational-formational modernization of the armed forces of bloc and other countries is being carried out. Their numerical reduction is compensated for by the introduction into their weaponry of modern combat systems constructed on the basis of new technologies. It is realistic to suppose that this trend will continue in the coming period as well.

On the political map of Europe the Balkans are an important area in which many political and military strategic interests overlap and come into confrontation with each other.

All this, Adzic assessed, in the conditions of the existing disintegrational processes in our country, particularly apparent in and around Kosovo, has a negative effct on its security and emphasizes the need for the more rapid military development of its armed forcs.

Socialism as a world process, he continued, is today characterized by the crisis of all its program and strategic plans and practices and also by the intensive critical reexamination of those plans and practices. The aim of the reexamination is to find a way out of the crisis by means of an innovative concept of socialism. Unfortunately, events and trends are unfolding with such speed that they are hard to follow and control, and hence a variety of options are possible.

This is why the LCY has initiated the reform of the economic and political system, as well as its own transformation. Without doubt, it is a question of the conceptualization of social changes in all essential spheres of social life. Changes of this nature have always had an enormous effect on the defense sphere of society. What is more, this has been crucially determined by them.

The defense capability of the country and the military development of its armed forces must continually, theoretically, and practically be kept in harmony with the current and prospective needs for the defense of independence, territorial integrity, and the constitutionally defined social system. This should be done in a situation of crisis, that is in unfavorable economic and political conditions. Crisis is also a great challenge for finding new qualities in the defense organization of society and the military development of its armed forces. [passage omitted]

The armed forces should continue to be developed and perfected both by rationalizing their organization and by their technical modernization. In their organizational and formational improvement the numerical reduction of the JNA and territorial defense should be continued with the further transfer of areas of supply, mobilization and other similar tasks to sociopolitical communities.

The introduction of new information technology, control, and communications systems in the Armed Forces should be raised to the level of the average developed country in this area. The focus of overall technical modernization should be expressed in strengthened firepower and increased maneuver skills of the armed forces, Adzic said, adding that scientific research work in all areas and disciplines of science should more fully serve the realization of the armed forces' development program. [passage omitted]

Civilians make up a third of the entire LC membership and over half of the JNA permament composition, Zlatomir Kusurovic noted.

Taken as a whole, the trade union organization of civilians, with its work and organization, contributed to Army unity, it primarily prevented any surprise, enemy infiltration among the Army ranks, strikes, and the like.

Acting under specifically Army conditions, it developed its own forms of work, which have influenced the raising of the level of ideopolitical awareness, on moral and political state of affairs, development of better interpersonal relations, professional training, and motivation for work.

In the present situation, characterized by a prolonged accumulation of social problems and contradictions, we in the civilian trade unions think these circumstances greatly affect the situation and behavior in our organization and among our members. Therefore, our activity was aimed at issues regarding the status, that is, the living standards of civilians, Kusurovic said. [passage omitted]

Stressing that social circumstances conditioned a steep fall in interest in the LCY and the Yugoslav Trade Unions Federation membership, Kusurovic warned that in 1988 civilians comprised 76 percent of all those who were struck out from the LCY membership list, and 62 percent of those who left the LCY voluntarily. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, Ugljesa Uzelac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, greeted the delegates of the Ninth JNA LC Conference.

He pointed out the present weight of many problems on the economic, social, and political plane, which is a consequence of, above all, our own weaknesses and historical exhaustion of the former model of development dof socialism. This state of affairs in the society was influenced by tempestuous and dynamic development, by events outside our country, and, in any case, our own hesitation, sticking to wrong approaches and misconceptions, and a slow departure from solutions which are obviously inefficient. Among them, the union between etatism and political power over economy and self-managment of workers and the absence of democracy, which, basically, obstructed the implementation of our strategic solutions, Uzelac stressed.

For that reason, the LC and other subjective forces of our society are in favor of deep and radical social reforms, within which the first step—even the precondition of their implementation—is the LC transformation under the conditions of the development of political pluralism as an achievement of every democratic society, he added. The Yugoslav people eagerly await the 14th Extraordinary LCU Congress with great hopes but also with apprehension, because the people's destiny and the outcome of the struggle for the reform depend on it, as does the future of individual. although there are many unharmonized stances within the LC—and even mutually opposing visions—I am convinced that the republican congresses and the LC conferences such as yours will provide opportunities for differences to diminish and be overcome, so that we can arrive at the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress with the as harmonious views as possible regarding key issues of social and economic development.

I believe that our society has the know-how and power to overcome successfully the problems which we are facing.

We set in motion economic reform, which is basically inspired with the long supressed program orientations of the LCY on the need for commodity production and the reign of economic laws in socialism. The adaption of our economy to new conditions will not be easy.

We should shy away from new illusions, such as that this great turnabout is possible to acheive only with measures and undertakings in the normative sphere, while at the same time not forming a really mass movement and a broad social action for preparing people. Efforts of communists and all progressive forces must not be reduced to superficial agitation for changes and reforms, but it must consist of thorough and permanent activity on the real economic, social, and political motivation and interests of each person, Uzelac stressed.

He recalled that big economic and social problems increased even more by high inflation. It is necessary to curb it since its destructive effects threaten not only further economic development and the standard of working people but also the realization of reform orientations and the essential bases of our socioeconomic and political system, Uzelac believes.

The objective of big changes in the political system is to develop a system that will serve human beings, Uzelac pointed out. All changes in the political system should find their adequate place in the new constitution. All this should create conditions to more quickly overcome deeply disordered relations in the SAP of Kosovo which present a heavy burden for our entire country and are one of the gravest points and hotbeds of the overall Yugoslav crisis, he stressed. The transformation of the LCY primarily demands its internal democratization, separation from the state, debureaucratization, Uzelac stressed. Membership, as he said, demands greater accountability of the leadership, different ways of working, a cadre policy based on manifested abilities and knowledge, and the real influence of the membership on the election of such cadres and a development of the policy of the LC. Transforming the LCY also implies significant processes of democratizing social relations, which include recognition of and respect for political pluralism as unavoidable factors in developing socialism that does not find its political expression in forming groups on a national basis, Uzelac underlined. The orientation of the LCY for political pluralism, as he explained, implies the creation of conditions for people to gather around different political ides, initiatives, and programs, rather than on a national basis. The LCY should fight against any monopoly in society, even its own, but it should also be against those who under the banner of pluralism abuse democracy and lead toward new antagonisms and nationalisms, he said. Uzelac particularly singled out a worrying exacerbation and cooling of intranational relations that threaten to seriously shake the fundamentals of the socialist self-managing community. It is particularly worrysome that many communists, even leading people still refuse to see this. Lack of unity and opportunism are manifest in reactions to present actions of nationalists, even a kind of going along with such forces and resolutely denying their existence, he added. It must be a permanent task for all progressive forces in our society to resolutely oppose attacks on Yugoslavia, a socialist, united, brotherly, democratic, and free community of equitable nations and nationalities, as well as attacks on Tito and his opus, our Army, Uzelac stressed. You have publicly and responsibly called attention to many disintegrational and confederalist trends, open separatism with which we are settling accounts in Kosovo, escalation of nationalism, even manifestations of intranational conflicts, together with increasingly bitter political confrontations with the leadership of the LC which threaten the survival and future of Yugoslavia. Resolute and principled messages in favor of social changes and reforms that open ways toward a stable development of Yugoslavia as a democratic state and social community have been arriving from your organs and organizations, he added.

For a long time on our broken ideological fronts attempts to deny essential values of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and in this context also of the concept of all people's defense have been appearing. All kinds of attacks on JNA are escalating, even demands from certain environments to form republican armies. In the LCY and society there is a high degree of unity about the need to steadily strengthen the country's abilities to successfully defend itself from all forms of external and internal threats, and this can be achieved if the armed forces have modern equipment and top capability. The readiness of the armed forces to defend the country should never be undermined and these orientations present a lasting attitude of working people and the working class of this country toward its Army, Uzelac stressed. Our Army cannot be different than it is—people's all-Yugoslav, revolutionary, socialist—an integral part of our system. If it were to change these essential characteristics and its social essence, JNA could not be the shock force of a defense system we are developing, Uzelac stressed. [passage omitted]

Communists and members of the Pristina corps are carrying out their tasks in very complex conditions—the activity of counterrevolutionary forces from positions of Albanian separatism and the increased operations of foreign intelligence services, particularly from Albania, Andrija Silic noted. With the complete involvement of the LCY organization and military organizations we have succeeded in preserving ideopolitical unity and have affirmed ourselves as a strong factor in the stabilization of the political- security situation in the province.

There has been no organized hostile activity from positions of nationalism, nor other forms of hostile activities in our units, Sili stressed. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the composition of the officer cadres, Boza Denda considered that the response from Slovene, Albanian, and Croatian cadets for military schools is still inadequate. Nevertheless the response as a whole so far has been sufficient to fill the planned number of places. We have succeeded in halting the many years of decline in interest in schooling in the Army, and even in increasing it by 19.5 percent in comparison with 1987, Denda said.

## Simic Address

*LD2311101789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Our stand against a multiparty system under the existing circumstances stems from our conviction that it would only serve to continue national and even nationalistic divisions in Yugoslavia, Petar Simic stressed in his introductory report at today's session of the Conference of the basic LCY organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army.

We do not see the future for our country in either the restoration of a bourgeois parliamentary system or in state centralism. It must have as its foundation a program of socialist development in a federal community of equal nations and nationalities. This program would be a rallying point for all progressive forces united on a platform of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and with no monopoly from anyone. Let this be a framework and a basis for practicing political pluralism, Simic stressed.

## Army Communists' Program Explained

*LD2411224689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[TANJUG report: "Excerpts from program of ideopolitical tasks of LCY in JNA"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—Infected with bureaucratization and processes of federalization, the League of Communists [LC] has been manifesting for a long time bureaucratic unimaginitiveness, ideopolitical sterility and practical and political impotence in realizing its role and in resolving accumulated social problems. All this, as stressed among other things in the program of ideoplitical tasks of the LCY organization in the JNA [Yugoslav National Army] puts into focus the battle for Yugoslavia, continuity of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, and continuation of Tito's revolutionary course.

While assessing that preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress are the most important tasks for members, organizations and bodies of the LCY in the JNA, the program stresses that social crisis can be overcome only by radical reforms, since its fundamental causes cannot be removed by piecemeal measures, and still less so by compromises and restructuring as we go along. The reform has to be grounded in socialist self-management, which would enable consolidation of the SFRY as a modern, law-governed, politically harmonious, and democratic, economically successful and efficient state and social community. This presupposes a thorough transformation of the ideopolitical profile, organizational structure, contents and methods of LCY activity.

The SFRY is a joint achievement of all our nations and nationalities, as well as the requirement for their survival and prosperity. The decisions of the second AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] session present a permanent historical social contract, about which there can be no daily negotiations. Yugoslavia's sovereignty, the program states, is the sovereignty of the country as a whole and not a simple sum of sovereignties of individual nations. Yugoslavia is our historical destiny and there are no theoretical, still less practical or real possibilities, for any retailoring of its borders, changing of its internal being and international situation.

Advocating pluralism of ownership with a dominant role for social ownership, which must have clearly defined titular holders, the army communists stressed in their program that Yugoslavia can survive only as a federal, state community. The meaning of federation is not in denying and limiting rights and independence of republics and provinces, but in safeguarding and ensuring conditions for the affirmation of all of them together and each nation and nationality individually. It is in their interest that all solutions which endanger the federal set-up of the country, introduce elements of confederalism, enable processes of etatistic-bureaucratic disintegration and interpretation from one center of republics and provinces, as well as disregard republican and provincial responsibility for the development of the country as whole, are removed from political system.

An integral part of the struggle for democratization of social relations is the affirmation of the idea and practice of political pluralism within the framework of the system of socialist self-management. In the present phase of social development any form of institutionalized political pluralism as a multi-party system is unacceptable.

Nationalism is the greatest danger for present-day Yugoslavia and its prospects, the program assesses. It directly endangers the very foundations of our defense and security, and for that reason, the removal of its causes, together with a concrete struggle against exponents of nationalism, is one of the basic presuppositions for a way out of the crisis and for social development. The battle for stabilization of the situation in Kosovo has a special importance in this. Interethnic relations in Yugoslavia can develop only in accordance with principles of equality and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. In Yugoslavia, as their common home, all nations and nationalities have the opportunity for unimpaired national affirmation regarding their development; in it, no one can be deprived of their rights and threatened. Any form of preference for partial over common interest is unacceptable, as well as any form of imposition of the will of the majority which threatens the principle of national equality.

The backbone of the country's defense system are the Armed Forces, which must, the program stresses, under any circumstances be equipped for carrying out tasks defined by the Constitution. The JNA and the armed forces will consistently safeguard their Yugoslav, popular, revolutionary, and socialist character, and develop themselves as common armed forces of all nations and nationalities and working people and citizens of the SFRY. Frequent attempts to negate the conception of the all people's defense and the constitutionally defined role and place of the JNA, are an integral part of the counterrevolutionary endangering of the unity of Yugoslavia and socialist system. Hence, we should adopt an appropriate stance toward them in practical and political activity.

Nonaligned policy remains an important characteristic of our country. Among priorities of its foreign policy is development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

The program of reform of the political and economic system, which communists in the JNA favor, presupposes adoption of a new Constitution which would remove the possibility of differing interpretations of its clauses, legal and other inconsistencies, which are hindering the SFRY's development as a modern state and self-managing democratic community. Without waiting for the completion of the constitutional reform, we should carry out, as soon as possible, changes which are necessary for the success of the reform, the program stresses.

### Statutory Act Amended

*LD2411153889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The delegates of the ninth conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] organization in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] today adopted amendments to the statutory act of the army party organization. The statutory act in force has not been changed drastically, but still, new solutions enable democratization of nomination and election procedures, as well as greater rights for membership and basic League of Communist [LC] organizations in electing all members of bodies, delegates in LC forums, and officials.

It is envisaged that all lists of candidates for forum delegates, members of bodies, and officials contain more candidates than posts, and that elections are to be carried out by secret ballot. Instead of the president of the Presidium, the president will head the work of the LCY committee in the YPA. The Presidium will be its executive-political body. In accordance with general LC orientations, the post of executive secretary of the Presidium is abolished.

Changes and amendments to the statutory act leveled off terms of office in LC organizations in the YPA, and enabled a more rational setting-up of basic LC organizations at various levels of the Army organization.

### Nationality Structure of Meeting

*LD2411124389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2127 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—According to the published information of the Verification Commission, the national structure of the delegates at the conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as follows:

—Montenegrins 5.33 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA 5.83 percent);

—Croats 12.67 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 13.4 percent);

—Macedonians 4.67 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 6.37 percent);

—Muslims 4 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 5.54 percent);

—Slovenes 5.33 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 1.98 percent);

—Serbs 54 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 52.07 percent);

—Albanians 1.33 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 0.7 percent);

—Hungarians 0.67 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 0.72 percent)

—Romanians 0.67 percent (in the LCY organization in the YPA, 11.94 percent).

### 2d Day Report

*LD2611041589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The 9th conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

[LCY] organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], in whose work 219 delegates are taking part, resumed work today. Delegates are to conclude a debate started yesterday on the work between two conferences. Out of the total of 50 delegates who asked to speak, most were given the chance yesterday.

Today the conference will publish the results from a vote taken last night for the members of a new committee of the LCY organization in JNA, for delegates for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, and members of the LCY Central Committee from the organization in the army.

Establishing that the responsibility for an increasingly difficult situation in society is primarily borne by members of the LCY, Zdenko Barisic assessed that communists in JNA have an inadequate attitude toward this unfavorable position of the LCY.

We are too preoccupied with our own problems, isolated from our own environment, and therefore don't notice phenomena outside our organization. Because of this our reactions are lacking. Our organization—LCY in JNA—seems as if it were some kind of a special organization. We are not making sufficient efforts for it to become just a part in the organizational scheme of the LCY. It does not mean anything if everything is in best order in this little house of ours, and different outside. Our fences should really only be the organizational and formal ones, Barisic said.

The prestige of the LCY has been damaged. My organization, and probably many others as well, has for years sought and initiated changes completely without success. I believe that changes will have to take place, otherwise membership will be forced to take individual and separatist actions, which would not be a good thing, Barisic said, with the comment that his contribution did not represent an official stand of an organization, but that he did acquaint the rank and file with what he was going to say. [TANJUG take 2 not received]

Therefore the question of the protection of the army in the widest sense, from all socially harmful phenomena, and not only from political crime, should be raised as one of the central ideopolitical tasks of all members, organizations, and organs of the LCY in JNA, as well as of other subjects of self-protection. More so since there is still a great deal of socially harmful phenomena and crime and because their number is not a real reflection of the actual situation.

In some environments there are beliefs, even among members of the LCY, that the struggle against crime and other socially harmful phenomena is only a matter for security organs, military police, inspectorates and military judicial organs. Such beliefs are very damaging; they develop passive attitudes among individual significant subjects of self-protection, such as LCY in JNA, military collectives, and others in curbing socially harmful phenomena. This question directly leads to the questions of constitutionality and legality, Hodzic continued. Uncovered and registered negative phenomena, particularly crime, are in the end the consequence of illegal work and behavior of army members, which means that individual army members in their work and behavior do not show respect for valid laws, regulations and orders, and the consequences of this are very grave and varied and can be felt in the lives and health of army members, military property, human relationships, relations within the service. [passage omitted]

Though in some social environments people worked under very unfavorable conditions and were very often attacked in the public information media for allegedly stage-managed trials and illegal work, communists in military judicial organs in the past period carried out their obligations legally correctly, expertly, successfully, and responsibly. In everything they showed respect for the Constitution and law, which was confirmed by the federal court in cases it reexamined, and the same assessment of the work of military judicial organs was made by the SFRY Presidency, Hodzic concluded.

If we accept the statement that never in the postwar development of our country have we faced greater danger to the integrity and fate of the basic heritage of the revolution, then in view of the constitutional role and purpose of JNA, nobody should be surprised that these dangers and their elimination are given exceptional importance by us in the army, Bozidar Stevanovic said. [passage omitted]

Assessing that integrational-political, economic, and military processes in the international community, particularly in Europe, at this juncture have a positive influence on our security, he said that sudden changes of the political situation are possible and therefore threats from abroad still remain topical. To neglect these dangers cannot be explained by the inability to make objective assessments, rather, this is the way of a conscious compromise of the essence of social being of JNA and the very purpose of its existence, which would have a direct reflection on the security of the SFRY.

It is not difficult to recognize similar unacceptable aims in the attempts of numerous oppositional forces in soceity to establish republican armies, introduce a civilian option to military service, depoliticize the army, and isolate it within the circle of barracks. In this it is being forgotten that so far our army has played a great role in defending the country and the heritage of the revolution, as well as in its development and that this role is irreplaceable as much today as in the future. [passage omitted]

We must start from Tito's concept saying that we should rely on our own forces and possibilities: this is always topical. But the need to import some of the most modern equipment and arms remains.

However, there is still a big unused space in the integration of our army expert research and production potentials with appropriate potentials in society. This integration of development programs is imminent, Stevanovic said.

Young officers and civilians employed by JNA are still insufficiently taking part in the work of the youth organization in the army, and among them there is a high number of LCY members, Boris Legner said, but the causes for this should not be sought in the youth organization; they go far deeper.

In a very short period, he said, fast and deep-rooted changes in the youth organization of Yugoslavia were brought about, and this is primarily a product of trends in the ideological sphere of the young generation today. These changes find their expression in a strong and united orientation and demand for such reforms in society that would quickly and resolutely deal with accumulated social shortcomings, open a way for real prospects, and in a short time raise the overall quality of people's life. [passage omitted]

I wish on this occasion as well, on behalf of the youth organization in the army, to answer all those who are demanding the abolition of the organization of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia in JNA. As free and equitable citizens of this country young people in the army will themselves decide the fate of their organization.

In the struggle for an ideological and valuable orientation of the young generation, in turning and opening toward Europe and the world we should not close our eyes in front of such things as an attempt, a few days ago, to provoke an incident by neofascists in Gorizia, on the border with our country. This is yet more proof that in the world there still live ideas that aim to change borders and sociopolitical orders in Yugoslavia, Legner stressed in conclusion.

After the successful period from 1975 to 1985 the situation in the military economy has been gradually deteriorating and today it is already assuming the characteristics of a crisis, Dr Aleksandar Stamatovic noted.

The volume of investment planned for the research and development of armaments and military equipment is not being fulfilled. Instead of 8.76 percent we planned, and then 7.86 according to the revised medium-term plan, for the total of funds for the financing of JNA, only 3.48 percent has been realized in the period from 1986 to 1989.

A significant fall in investments for research and development has occurred over the current medium-term period.

Because of the total of the funds for financing JNA this year has been reduced and the need for maintaining replenishments at a necessary minimum to preserve the combat readiness of the armed forces and alleviate the problems stemming from the military industry insufficiently employing its capacities, investment in research and development work has been reduced to its lowest level in the last 10 years. Its share in the army's budget amounts to as little as 2.98 percent. Under such circumstances the realization of a certain number of very significant development programs had to be slowed down while the realization of some programs had to be postponed, Stamatovic stressed.

Since 1986 the volume of the acquisitions of arms and military equipment for equipping our armed forces from domestic production has been reduced following the reduction in the funds for financing JNA.

If the fact is also taken into account that instead of an increase envisioned in the exportation of armaments and military equipment in the 1986 to 1990 period a 10-percent fall per year has taken place since 1987, it is obvious that the crucial problem of the special purpose industry is insufficient employment. Total production and manufacturing capacities were deployed at a 90-percent rate in 1986 and this year at only a 73-percent rate. Plans for implanting investments in modernization programs of the military industry's capacities have been met over the 4 years of this medium-term plans by only 30 percent.

Over 200 scientific and research and development organizations with more than 7,000 experts, researchers, and associates are engaged in implementing research and development programs. Of the total of the army's financial means available for research and development work about 70 percent is effected through civilian organization, Stamatovic noted.

Over the last 10 years about 35 percent of the scientific and development results achieved to meet our armed forces' needs have been applied, directly or indirectly, to civilian needs. This application could have been even higher (by as much as 20 percent) had our industry been more dynamic, had the big industrial systems been more organized and efficient, Stamatovic said. In the course of this he also noted that today the industry of armaments and military equipment comprises 53 enterprises grouped in the association of armaments and military equipment industry with about 80,000 workers, while about another 1,000 cooperating enterprises from the whole country take part in manufacturing armaments and military equipment. About 75 percent of our existing technologies and technological processes in our special purpose industry can be universally applied as only 25 percent represent specifically "military" technologies.

At the end of his address Stamatovic noted that the financial basis for the technological modernization of our armed forces has been reduced to a level that threatens the concept of relying on our own strengths and raises the danger of significant reductions in research and development potential and a breakdown of the military industry as a system. Therefore it is necessary to ensure the most elementary conditions for preserving existing potential and transforming the military economic complex. [passage omitted] [TANJUG take 12 not received]

Following the debate, delegates of the ninth conference endorsed a report on the activities of the LCY organization and its organs in JNA between two conferences, a program of ideopolitical tasks for the party organization in the army, and changes and amendments to the statutory decision of the LCY organization in JNA.

The delegates took a secret vote and among several candidates elected a new committee for the LCY organization in JNA, as a statutory supervisory commission. A total of 13 delegates were elected for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, as well as candidates for the Central Committee, statutory and supervisory commission of the LCY, who are elected from the LCY organization in JNA.

In the intermission at the conference the new committee of the LCY in JNA was in session and in secret vote elected Vice Admiral Petar Simic its president. He got 42 votes. The second candidate Milenko Andjelic got 4 votes, while Vukota Popovic got no votes at all.

In a secret vote the following were also elected to the committee's presidium: Marko Negovanovic, Nebojsa Tica, Aleksandar Stamatovic, Gojko Krstic, and Milan Ruzinovski. Nebojsa Tica became the secretary of the committee.

A responsible approach to social themes was dominant in the work of the conference. The focus of attention was on Yugoslavia and its defense. In this way Petar Simic, newly elected president of the LCY committee in JNA, assessed the 2-day work in his concluding speech at the ninth conference of the LCY organizations in JNA. The conference showed ideological unity and the emphasis of debates was on how to best carry out our social role within the conditions in which we act, Simic said.

We believe that we have been critical and realistic. Assessing that the work of newly elected organs will not be easy, Simic said that even the best composition of the LCY organs cannot be up to its tasks without relying on a united, ideologically and theoretically effective organization.

Our citizens can be calm and reposed. Everything is subordinated to their interest and the interest of our shared country SFRY, Simic said.

With these words and with the song "Comrade Tito we swear to you" the 2-day work of the ninth conference of the LCY organizations in JNA ended.

## JNA Warns Against Underfunding

*LD2611233989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 25 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—Unless by 28 November, 7 trillion dinars are secured from the primary monetary emission of the Yugoslav National Bank, officers and civilians in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) will be celebrating Republic Day without personal incomes. This warning was made today in the committee for the credit and monetary system of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces by Nikola Cubro, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

Despite numerous promises that the financing of the JNA will go ahead normally, the situation is constantly deteriorating, Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, warned. Although the military budget should be 4.6 percent of the average social product for this year, which is less than ever before, in real terms it has been reduced to 3.55 percent. The army is being cut short by 17.6 trillion dinars, which means that the sum of 7 trillion is only part of the deficit which must be made up.

Employees in the military and accompanying industries are already drawing attention to the fact that if the JNA fails to regularly fulfill its contractual obligations and ensure personal incomes, strikes and demonstrations could come about, Stane Brovet said. If this situation lasts, the JNA will have to go to the Yugoslav public with the assessment that the law on its financing is not being implemented, something which the army is least of all responsible for, Brovet warned.

The Federal Executive Council is currently not in a position to secure the money which is lacking from the budget, so it is therefore forced to seek a short-term loan from the Yugoslav National Bank, Branko Zekan, federal secretary for finance, said. [passage omitted]